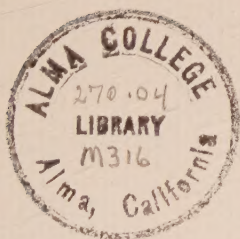


TOMBS AND PORTRAITS

OF THE

POPES OF THE MIDDLE AGES

BY
MGR. H. K. MANN
RECTOR, COLLEGIO BEDA, ROME



LONDON : SHEED & WARD,
31 PATERNOSTER ROW.

31857

CONTENTS

TOMBS OF THE POPES	1
PORTRAITS OF THE POPES	85
A NOTE ON ONOFRIO PANVINIO	146
INDEX	148

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

TOMBS OF THE POPES

1. Benedict XV	Frontispiece
2. St Peter	Facing Page 4
3. Inscriptions from the Catacomb of St Calixtus	5
4. De Rossi's Restoration of above	8
5. Murus dividens novam a veteri Basilica	16
6. Gregory V	24
7. Innocent IV	36
8. Clement IV	37
9. Gregory X	40
10. Hadrian V	41
11. John XXI	44
12. Nicolas III	45
13. Honorius IV	48
14. Boniface VIII	49
15. Benedict XI	52
16. Benedict XI (a detail)	53
17. John XXII	56
18. Urban V	57
19. Gregory XI	60
20. Urban VI	61
21. Alexander V	68
22. John XXIII	69
23. Eugenius IV	72
24. Nicholas V	73
25. Nicholas V (a detail)	76
26. Calixtus III (a detail)	76
27. Calixtus III	77
28. Paul II	80
29. Alexander VI	81
30. Pius III	84

PORTRAITS OF THE POPES

31. Pius XI	85
32. Papal Busts at Siena	88
33. Portraits in S. Pier in grado	89
34. Portraits from mosaics in St Paul's	92
35. Papal Medallions	93
36. Portraits from St Paul's	100
37. Portraits from St. Paul's Restored by Grimaldi	101
38. St. Peter	104
39. St. Paul	105
40. Portraits in bronze plaque and gilt glasses	108
41. Pope Zachary	109

42.	Paschal I	109
43.	Leo IV	109
44.	Gregory I	109
45.	Gregory IV	112
46.	Gregory IV and Rhabanus Maurus	113
47.	John XIII	116
48.	Nicholas III	116
49.	Nicholas III.	117
50.	Gelasius II	120
51.	Celestine III.	120
52.	Allegorical figure.	121
53.	Honorius III.	121
54.	Honorius III (in mosaic)	121
55.	Gregory IX	121
56.	Clement IV	124
57.	Benedict XI	125
58.	Grimaldis' Copies of Portraits	126
59.	Boniface VIII and St. Louis	127
60.	Eugenius IV	128
61.	Urban V	129
62.	Boniface IX.	132
63.	Boniface VIII	132
64.	Boniface VIII (statue)	133
65.	Boniface VIII and his first jubilee.	133
66.	Clement V	136
67.	Clement V	136
68.	Benedict XII	136
69.	John XXII	137
70.	Clement VI	140
71.	Innocent VI	140
72.	Innocent VI	140
73.	Clement VI	141
74.	Urban V	141
75.	Urban V	144
76.	Gregory XII.	144
77.	Urban VI	145
78.	John XXIII	145

PREFACE.

A portion of the title of this work will no doubt instantly bring to the minds of many a book of Gregorovius;¹ and perhaps some of those persons may be disposed to think that it has said the last word on the subject of papal tombs. Apart however from the fact that such an eminent authority on Art and its history as E. Müntz², considers the work of Gregorovius merely "a long tirade against the Papacy and the Popes", during recent years works have been published, and discoveries made, that render it desirable to supplement what has already been written on papal sepulchral monuments. Moreover, as some of the books in question were issued during the Great War, or in the year in which it broke out, they have not, it would seem, received sufficient attention³. It is hoped that this little book will help to fill some of the lacunae in the works of Gregorovius and others; and at least bring some useful publications to the notice of English-speaking readers⁴. In concluding this brief preface, I wish to express my warmest thanks to Dr. T. Ashby, formerly Director of the British School of Archæology of Rome for the kind help which he has given me in the production of this work; and also very specially the authorities of the British School of Rome for permission to use material from the ninth volume of their papers.

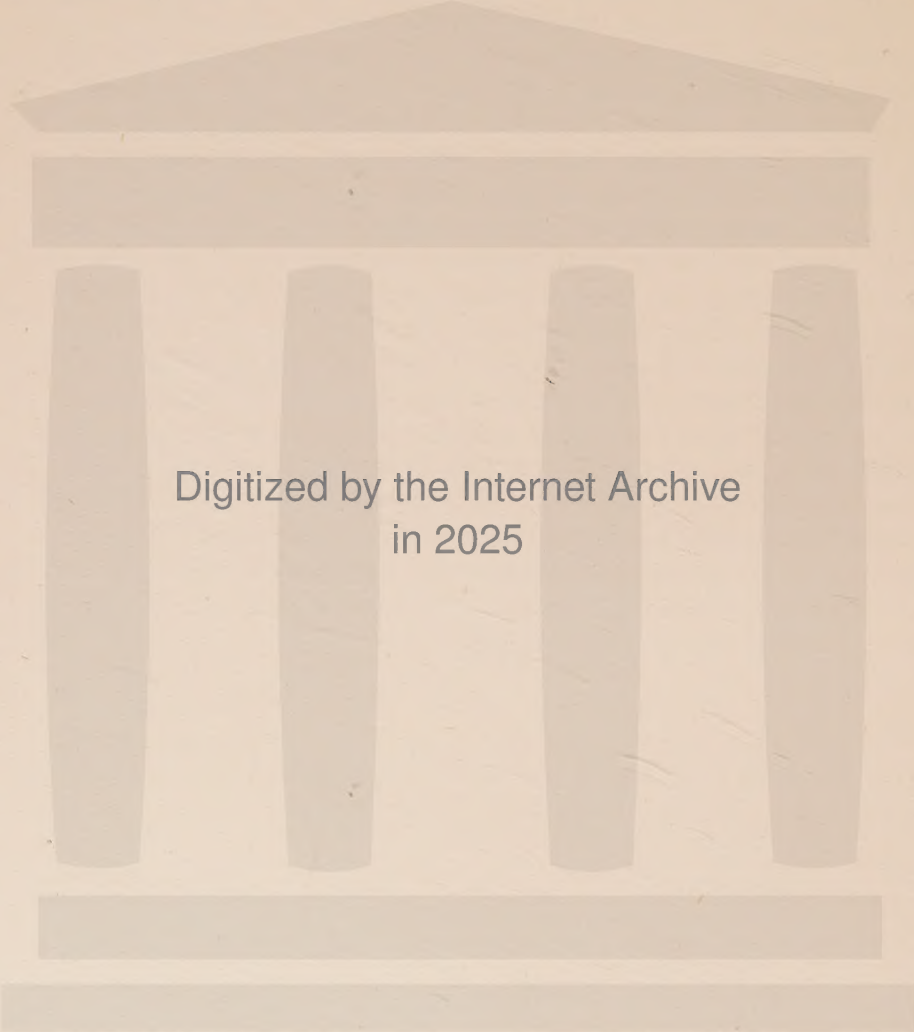
H. K. MANN.
Rome 1928.

¹ The work of Gregorovius on the tombs of the Popes, published in 1857, was translated into English in 1903 by Mr. R. W. Seton-Watson, and adversely commented on by P. Balan, *Le Tombe dei Papi.*, Modena. 1879.

² "Les tombeaux des Papes en Allemagne et en France", ap. *Rev. de l'art chrétien*, 1896, p. 347.

³ E. g., *La Grande Veduta Meggi-Mascardi* (1615) Rome, 1914; T. Alphanus. *De basilicæ Vaticanæ structura*, ed. M. Cerrati, Rome 1914; *Die Zerstörung der Grabdenkmäler der Päpste von Avignon* by Ern. Steinman in *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, Leipzig; 1918, p. 145. ff.; J. A. F. Orbaan, *Der Abbruch alt-Sankt-Peters*, Berlin 1919; and R. Cecchatelli-Ippoliti, *Le Tombe papali*, ap. *Revista d'Italia*, Apr. 1915.

⁴ A large part of the section treating on the "Portraits of the Popes" has already been published by me in the Papers of the British School at Rome, vol. IX. n. 6. That material is here used by the very kind permission of the Committee of the School, to whom, and especially to their Secretary, E. J. Forsdyke, Esq., I return my best thanks.



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025

THE TOMBS OF THE POPES

Out of the two hundred and sixty-five Popes on the official list of to-day, two hundred and twenty-nine were buried in Rome, for the most part in old or new St. Peter's on the Vatican Hill. Twenty-six were interred in other cities of Italy, eight in France, and two in Germany. Of the tombs of all these Popes only about one hundred now exist — the majority, as many seem to suppose, having been wantonly destroyed at the time of the demolition of old St. Peter's. Further, of the hundred existing papal sepulchral monuments, Rome can boast some seventy. Other towns of Italy; Perugia, Viterbo, Florence, Arezzo, Verona, Bologna, Ferrara, Recanati, Aquila, Monte Cassino, and Salerno can show about sixteen ¹. France has remnants, more or less considerable, of six; while Germany has one.

As in all the ancient lists of the bishops of Rome, i. e. of the Popes, the first place is assigned to the Apostle St. Peter, any account of their tombs must begin with the story of the tomb of the first of their line. Summing up previous testimonies on the subject, the *Liber Pontificalis* tells us, omitting a few details, that the saint was buried (A. D. 67) on the "Via Aurelia, near the place where he was crucified on the Vatican Hill" ² or, to speak in some respects more accurately, his body was interred to the right of the Via Cornelia, a northern branch of the Via Aurelia, alongside of which already ran a line of tombs. His body would appear to have been placed in a vault over which Pope Anacletus his second successor built a little chapel (*memoria*) and prepared places in it for the

*Tombs
still extant.*

St. Peter.

¹ A portion of a sepulchral monument is shown at Grottaferrata which is believed to have been that of the unfortunate Benedict IX. Gregory VII has a monument at Salerno; Victor III at Monte Cassino; Urban III at Ferrara; Innocent III (till recently) at Perugia (his body was in the same tomb as those of Urban IV and Martin IV); Innocent IV at Naples; Clement IV at Viterbo; Gregory X at Arezzo; Hadrian V and John XXI at Viterbo; Celestine V at Aquila; Benedict XI at Perugia; Gregory XII at Recanati; Alexander V at Bologna; and John XXIII (the last Pope buried out of Rome) at Florence. Pope Leo XIII transferred the body of Innocent III, and placed it in a new monument in the church of St. John Lateran.

² Ed. Duchesne. I. 118; Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 127.

tombs of subsequent bishops¹; and, if we may judge from the tombs of some of these successors found during the course of the building of the present St. Peter's, the coffin in which his body was placed was composed of slabs of marble². It may, indeed, very well have been like the one depicted in the burial scene of the Apostle in the ancient fresco which once adorned the portico of old St. Peter's, and which fortunately was copied by Grimaldi³. Such a style of sarcophagus, showing, it is said, the waves of the ocean of life, was very common at the time of the Apostle's death. Here, at least for the greater time which elapsed between the reigns of Nero and Constantine, the saint's body and its coffin remained undisturbed. Whether, for a greater or less length of time, the body was translated, once or even twice, to the catacombs on the Appian Way, to that spot where now stands the church of San Sebastiano, and where remarkable discoveries are now in progress, establishing the traditions regarding St. Peter's connection with that locality, is too large a question to be discussed here⁴.

After Constantine had accepted Christianity, he wished to show honour to St. Peter, and not merely built a great basilica over his tomb, but decorated the tomb itself⁵. Unfortunately the words used by the author of the *Liber Pontificalis* in this latter connection are ambiguous. After stating that the emperor enclosed "the loculus with the body of St Peter" with Cyprian bronze on all sides, he adds the words: "which is immovable". He then continues: "five feet at the right side, and five feet at the left, five feet below and five feet above, thus did he enclose and conceal the body of

¹ Ed. Duchesne i. 125. Cf. Arnobius the Younger, c. 12 p. 404 ed. Morin, 1913 "Cum ad memoriam piscatoris curvantur genua imperatoris". *Liber ad Gregorium*.

² See the procès-verbal of the digging of the foundations for the present baldachino in S. Peter's in Armellini, *Le Chiese di Roma*, p. 707: "Erano tumuli di marmi e lastre semplici".

³ *Cod. Barb. Lat.*, 2733 p. 139v.

⁴ Cf. Barnes, *St. Peter in Rome*; R. Lanciani: *La Memoria App. e gli scavi di S. Sebastiano*, ap. *Dissert. della Pont. Accad. di Arch.* Ser. II. T. XIV. 1920. p. 55ff. and Dr. P. Styger, *Scavi a San Sebastiano*, Rome 1915, an extract from the *Römische Quartalschrift* n. 2 1919; and articles by Marucchi etc. in the *Nuovo Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana* for 1916, 1917, 1918, 1921. Dr. Styger has written other articles on the subject.

⁵ *Lib. Pont.*, I. p. 176, n. 16. Constantine made the basilica "in templum Apollinis, cujus loculum cum corpus (sic) S. Petri ita recondit; ipsam loculum undique ex aere cypro conclusit, quod est immobile: ad caput pedes V etc; sic inclusit corpus b. Petri apostoli et recondit".

OF THE MIDDLE AGES

Blessed Peter the Apostle." From this Mgr Wilpert¹ and others before him have concluded that Constantine enclosed the Apostle's tomb in a solid mass of bronze five feet thick in every direction. When it is considered, according even to Mgr Wilpert himself, that such a mass of bronze weighed no less than three hundred tons, and when it is noted that Constantine is said to have enclosed the body of St. Paul in bronze in the same way as he did that of St. Peter², we may well refuse to credit the use of six hundred tons of bronze in the way supposed. Surely what is meant is that he enclosed the original simple marble sarcophagus in artistic bronze work, and that the five feet dimensions refer to the vault (loculus) in the centre of which the sarcophagus was placed. On top of the sarcophagus the emperor placed a great gold cross, on which was engraved an inscription to the effect that Constantine and his mother Helena adorned the vault and the basilica above it with equal splendour³. Fortunately this cross was seen in the sixteenth century by Pope Clement VIII and others, after a workman in the course of the erection of the present basilica had accidentally driven a hole into the top of the vault. When by the light of a torch the Pope had seen the cross, he ordered the hole to be filled up in his presence⁴. This fact, narrated by Torrigio, who was living at the time, is of the utmost importance, as the fact of the great gold cross being still *in situ* shows that when, in 846, the Saracens raided St. Peter's, they did not find his tomb. We may

¹ See the full report of a lecture given by him in the *Osservatore* Jan. 4. 1922. It was subsequently (Rome 1922) issued as a separate pamphlet.

² *L. P.* 178. n. 21. If the five feet dimensions have to refer to bronze, it may be that the walls of the vault were decorated with bronze plaques, as are the walls of St. Sophia, in Constantinople.

³ "Constantinus Aug. et Helena Aug. hanc donum regalem simili fulgore coruscans aula circumdat." *Ap. L. P.* I. 176, n. 17. These words are translated by Lanciani: *Papal and Christian Rome*, p. 149 as follows: "Constantine the emperor, and Helena the empress have richly decorated this royal crypt, and the basilica which shelters it". This is, of course, only a loose translation. Wilpert would understand "dedicated" (*dedicaverunt*) after the imperial names. In any case the words give the sense we have associated to them in the text. In his pamphlet just cited Mgr. Wilpert (p. 25) gives a "reconstruction" of the cross.

⁴ Barnes: *St Peter in Rome*, p. 300 ff. In reference to the application of the five feet dimensions, we may note with this author that when St Gregory refused to give relics of St. Peter's body, he did not imply that he could not give them because they were enclosed in a solid cube of bronze. He certainly implies he could send them if he would. *Ep.* IV. 30. ed. Ewald.

take it then, that it survives to this day as it was left by Constantine.

With the exception of Popes Clement I (c. 91-101) and Alexander, the immediate successors of St. Peter to Pope Victor (199-202) eleven in number ¹ were buried round the body of that apostle on the Vatican Hill. In the phraseology of the *Liber Pontificalis* they were buried "near the body of the blessed Peter". The statements of the *Liber Pontificalis* and other early authorities with regard to this particular, were supported by the discoveries made in the seventeenth century (1615) during the construction of the present basilica of St. Peter's. Excavations made in the vicinity of the "confession" of that apostle made it certain that many persons had been buried around his body. They seemed to be surrounding him like bishops assisting at a council ². One of the sepulchral slabs there found was inscribed, along with other words, with the name Linus, and the contemporary antiquarian, Torrigio, had no hesitation in deciding that the inscription revealed the tomb of the second pope, the first successor of St. Peter. But, if it may be urged with Duchesne ³ in slight confirmation of Torrigio's contention that the name of Linus is rare in epigraphy, especially Christian epigraphy, it must be allowed that the other words on the slab, which were too damaged to be deciphered, might have furnished some information which would have precluded the ascription of the tomb to Pope Linus. Unfortunately, Torrigio gives us no information as to the number of the "other words" on the slab, so that we have no means of judging whether they were numerous enough to neutralize that striking brevity which distinguishes the earliest papal sepulchral inscriptions. Still it cannot be said that there is any sufficient reason for not accepting the verdict of Torrigio, and for not believing that the tomb of the second Pope was really recovered in 1615 ⁴. The

¹ Pope Clement was possibly not buried in Rome, but "in Graecias". *Lib. Pont.* I. 123. Burial places had been prepared for the successors of St. Peter by Pope Anacletus when he built the small shrine (memoria) about the burial place of St. Peter. *L. P.* I. p. 125. Alexander I in *L. P.* I. 127, is said to have been buried on the Via Nomentana, where he was beheaded. The inscription which in 1855 was found at the "seventh milestone" had, against what was at first supposed, probably nothing to do with Pope Alexander. Cf. Duchesne, *L. P.* I. p. XCiff. and the *Itinerary* of William of Malmesbury ap. de Rossi *Rom. Sot.* I. p. 179. See also Northcote and Brownlow, *Rom. Sot.* p. 81 f. and *Atti di S. Alessandro* I. Rome 1858.

² Barnes: *St. Peter in Rome*. pp. 147; 304 (map) 307; 337.

³ See his edit. of the *Lib. Pont.* I. 121. n.

⁴ De Rossi: *Bullet.* 1864 p. 50 and *Inscript. Crist.* II pp. 236-7, 460; Barnes:

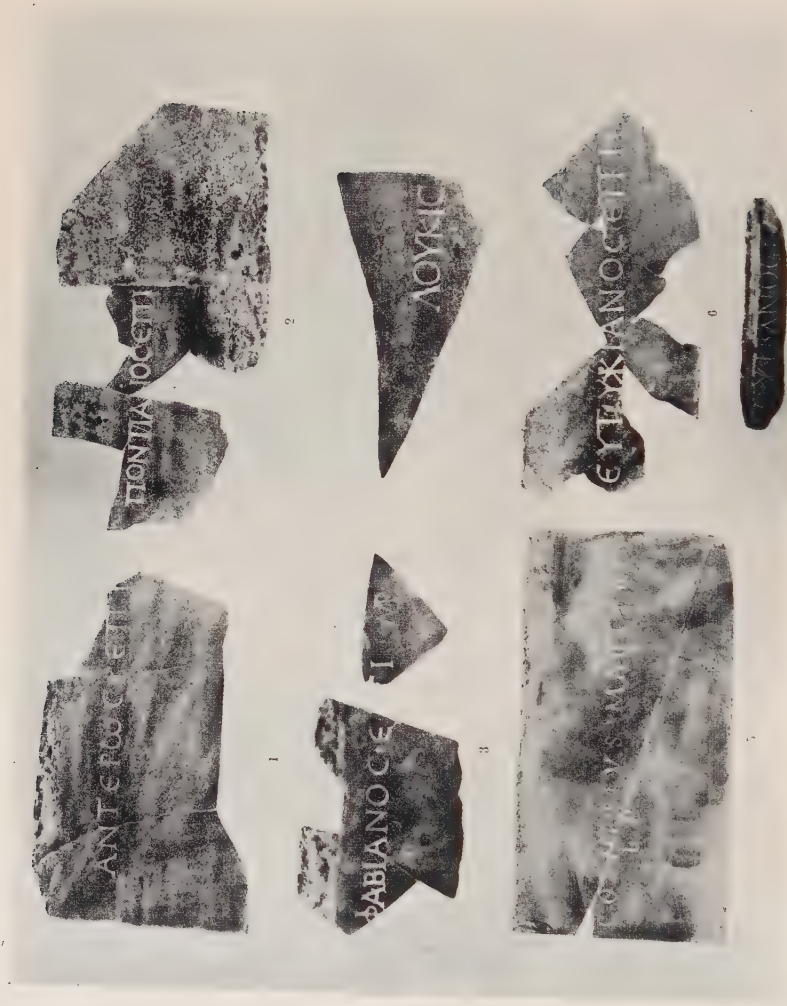
EX antiquiss^a pictura Porticus Basilicae Vatic. 139



Humatio Sanctissimi corporis Principis
Apostolorum B. Petri.

2. BURIAL OF ST. PETER (FROM GRIMALDI, COD. BARB. LAT. 2733).

[Facing p. 4.]



3. INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE PAPAL TOMES IN THE CATACOMB OF ST. CALIXTUS.

OF THE MIDDLE AGES

tombs of the other Popes of the first two centuries then, were, on the evidence of Torrigio, like that of Pope Linus, and were coffins of marble, brick, or terra-cotta, closed with a slab which bore the name of the Pope.

Around the name of the third successor of St. Peter a great deal of legend, and some of it very pretty legend has gathered. He is credited with being the Clement mentioned by St. Paul, and is believed to have been a Roman of noble birth¹; and while it is certain that he was the author of a most important letter to the Corinthians, a comparatively large amount of very early literature has been ascribed to him. In this literature, for the most non-Roman and non-Catholic, but written before the end of the second century, a most distinguished position is assigned to him as the perpetual companion of St. Peter. He may almost be said to be the King Arthur of the early Papacy. Legend gathered round his death as around his life, and it cannot be said that the circumstances of his death are yet established. The *Book of the Popes* says that he died a martyr, and was buried in Greece. That he really died a martyr under Trajan seems highly probable² and perhaps it is almost as probable that he was buried in Rome. St. Jerome, writing about the year 392 says that a basilica guards the memoria (or memorial chapel) of St. Clement³, and so it may be presumed that

S. Clement.

St. Peter in Rome; 309-12 (he gives further arguments for the correctness of the inscription); Armellini; *Chiese di Roma* p. 697 ff. 2nd. edit.; Grisar: *Rome*, I, 183, Eng. ed. and Cerrati *Tib. Alpharamus*, p. 36 n. and especially Torrigio, Ms. Vat. Lat. 9907 C. q. v. 211 v. where he is treating specially of the tombs of the Popes. We give here the quotation from this MS. as it is so important in itself, and in some of the printed works of the archæologist the discovery is not described at length. "S. Linus... fu sepolto vicino al corpo di San Pietro, e nel 1615 scavandosi per ridurre il luoco della confessione al termine che vi vede, fu trovato una tavola di marmo che serviva per coperchio d'un pilo di sepolchro, sopra la quale si leggeva Linus, con altre parole, chi, per essere rote dal tempo non si puotero leggere; ed atorno si erano moltissime pile parimente di marmore e di mattoni e tende di terra cotta dentro a quali si fece juditio esservi gli altri corpi dei Papi de' quali fa mentione il Breviario il quali di S. Lino cosi dice: 'Sepultus est in Vaticano prope sepulchrum Principis Apostolorum'".

¹ His fourth century *Passion*, not a document of much value, but which, nevertheless may easily enclose some valuable material, says "Nobili te stirpe progenitum omnis Romana multitudo testatur" ch. 17.

² *Lib. Pont.* I. p. 123., n. 9.

³ *De viris illust.*, c. 15. "Nominis ejus memoriam usque hodie Romae exstructa ecclesia custodit" cf. L. Nolan: *The Basilica of S. Clemente*, p. 197 ff. 2nd edit. Grottaferrata, 1914. Hence in his *de Civitate Dei* (l. 22. c. 10) St. Augustine says

he had been buried where the church of San Clemente now stands, and where beneath it can be seen what is with good reason believed to be the *memoria* itself.

According, however, to the *Passio* of Clement, or Acts of his martyrdom, the Pope was ordered by Trajan either to offer sacrifice to the gods, or to be banished to the Crimea near the city of Cherson¹. As he would not offer sacrifice, he was exiled to the marble quarries of the Chersonese. But when it was found that, through his exertions, the people in the neighbourhood of the quarries were all becoming Christians, the local governor ordered an anchor to be fastened to his neck, and that he should be cast into the sea "so that the Christians might not be able to worship him as a god"².

After this sentence had been duly executed, the Christians standing by the sea-shore prayed God to show them the martyr's remains. In answer to their prayers the "sea retired some three miles, and the Christians, following the retreating waves, found a little temple of marble "made by God", and the body of the saint in a stone sarcophagus with the anchor beside it"³. It was then revealed to the faithful not to disturb the body of the saint, for they were assured, that every year on the anniversary of the saint's martyrdom the sea would withdraw, and would leave the temple uncovered for seven days so that it could be visited. This "for the glory of God's name has God caused to be done up to this very day"⁴.

Some⁵ suppose that this story of the exile and martyrdom of St. Clement arose from confusing the Pope with the Christian consul Flavius Clemens, who was banished to the island of Pontia which was confused with Pontus : others think that a local martyr of the name of Clement was confused with the Pope. However these suppositions may be, it is certain that a saint Clement was honoured in the Crimea, and that from the end of the fourth century

that "we build to our martyrs, not temples, as gods, but memorials, as to dead men whose spirits are living with God" and writing against Faustus the Manichee (Lib. 20. c. 21) he says that "Christian people frequent the memorials of the martyrs". cf. J. Mullooly: *Saint Clement*, p. 213. Rome 1873.

¹ *Passio* c. 18; cf. *L. P. I.* p. XVI.

² *Passio* c. 23 vol. II. p. 79. ed Funck. Tubingen. 1913.

³ *Ib.* c. 24. "Invenerunt in modum templi marmorei habitaculum a Deo paratum et ibi in arca saxea corpus sancti Clementis positum".

⁴ *Ib.* c. 25.

⁵ Lightfoot : *The Apostolic Fathers*, vol. I. P. I.

OF THE MIDDLE AGES

onwards that saint was believed to be the Pope. St. Cyril, the apostle of the Slavs, when in the Crimea evangelizing the Chazars, tried, at first in vain, to find out something with regard to the story and locality of the saint's martyrdom. At length, however, "guided by Christ", he went to an island off the coast. There in a certain mound, he found the relics of the saint "shining like a star", and fragrant, and close to them the anchor. St. Cyril brought them to Rome in the days of Pope Hadrian II (867-872) and they were solemnly interred in the saint's own basilica¹. One of the frescoes of the lower church of St. Clement destroyed in 1084 is thought to depict this translation of the saint's relics. As late as the thirteenth century, indeed as late as the eighteenth century, St. Clement was honoured in the Crimea. The famous Franciscan traveller, William of Rubruck, says that "as we sailed past it (Kersona, or Sebastopol) we saw an island on which is a temple said to have been made by angelic hands"².

From the year 202 (Zephyrinus 202-19) to 314 (Miltiades³ 311-14) i. e. roughly, during the third century, there were eighteen Popes. Of these fifteen were buried in the catacomb of S. Callistus on the Appian Way, and, up to the present, tombstones or tombs of nine of them have been found in that Cemetery, or in an adjoining crypt⁴. The majority of the fifteen were buried in the little papal chapel "ad S. Xystum" (Sixtus II) and had for tombs simple loculi (or recesses in the tufa walls of the chapel) which were closed by a marble slab bearing the name of the Pope, generally in Greek letters, and followed by *επ* or *επισκ* (episcopos). Thus we have a marble slab, bearing the name *ουρβανος* followed by an ivy leaf⁵. Unfortunately the slab is broken just where another letter (which is

Third
Century.

¹ This story of the finding and the translation of the relics (?) is found in a document probably contemporary (ap. *Acta SS. Bolland. Mart.* 2 p. 20 ff.) and possibly written by Gaudericus bishop of Velletri.

² See his *Itinerary* p. 42 f. ed. W. W. Rockhill, London, 1890. This church of St. Clement was really on a headland in the harbour of Sebastopol, and is marked in Russian maps as late as 1772.

³ The last Pope buried in the catacomb of S. Callistus.

⁴ Popes Cornelius and Miltiades (not so correctly written Melchiades) were buried in the crypt of St. Lucina near the catacomb of St. Callistus. On the tombs of the Popes in the said catacomb see especially: *Die Papstgräber in der Katakomben des hl. Kallistus*, by Mgr Wilpert: Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1909.

⁵ To denote immortality.

supposed to be a part of the E) begins. We are justified in allocating this tombstone to Pope Urban I. because his name appears in the list, inscribed in marble, of the Popes and others who were buried in the papal crypt, which was placed there by Pope Sixtus III (432-440) ¹. Only some fifteen years ago was discovered the tombstone of Pope Pontianus (203-5) *ποντιανος επισκοπος* ². This Pope died from cruel treatment in exile in Sardinia; but his successor Pope Fabian brought his body to Rome, and buried it in the catacomb of St. Callistus. Besides his epitaph, his name has been found among the *graffiti* on the doorway of the papal crypt. "Mayest thou live, Pontianus, in God with all" ³. It was no doubt scratched by a witness of the burial. Similarly, there have been found the marble slabs showing the names of Anterus (235-6) Fabian (236-60) Lucius I (253-4) and Eutychian (275-283) ⁴. The tombstone of Pope Caius, (283-296) was not found in the papal crypt, but in another part of the catacomb of St Callistus, near the crypt of St. Eusebius. The *Liber Pontificalis* had stated that he was buried on April 22nd in the said cemetery, and this information helped De Rossi to piece together a number of fragments "of a slab of very fine Greek marble, beautifully engraved, with Greek letters of unusual size, and cut more deeply than usual". The words were separated from one another by a very peculiar ornamental figure, which this great archæologist had seen before on a Christian inscription of the year 291. The inscription, duly restored, records the "Deposition of Bishop Caius on the tenth of the Kalends of May (Apr. 22)" ⁵.

Among these sepulchral monuments, where, even of Roman Popes bearing Latin names, the epitaphs are written in Greek, it is interesting to find one of a Pope whose epitaph is in Latin. It runs "Cornelius Martyr Ep." and belongs to Pope Cornelius (251-2). A member, no doubt, of the *Gens Cornelia*, he was buried, not exactly in the Catacomb of St. Callistus, but in a place in which "many

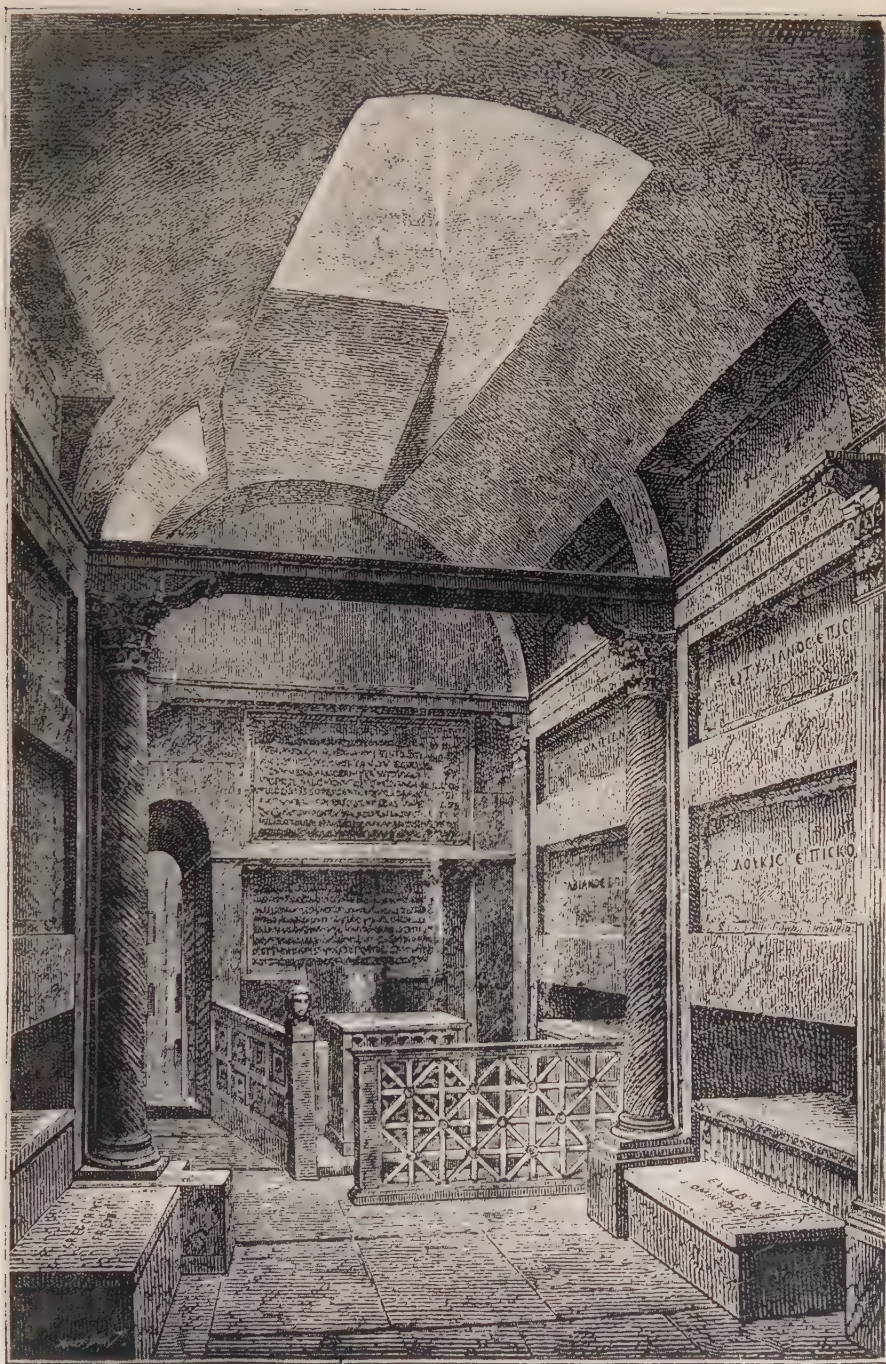
¹ The list may be read among other places in *Rome of the Pilgrims and Martyrs*, by Miss E. R. Barker, p. 292. Cf. also S. Scaglia: *The Catacombs of S. Callistus*, p. 103 Rome 1911. On p. 98 he gives an engraving of Urban's tombstone.

² Scaglia. l. c. pp. 90, 107-9. Cf. O. Marucchi, "Osservazioni sull'iscrizione del P. Ponziano Etc., ap. *Nuovo Bullet.*, 1909, p. 35 ff.

³ *Lib. Pont.* I. 145; 146; n. 8.

⁴ Scaglia p. 109-113; 121-3.

⁵ Cf. Northcote: *Epitaphs of the Catacombs*. p. 50. ff.



4. PAPAL CRYPT IN THE CATACOMB OF ST. CALIXTUS AFTER
DE ROSSI'S RESTORATION.

OF THE MIDDLE AGES

very ancient epitaphs of the Cornelii have been found" i. e. in the adjoining crypt of St. Lucina ¹.

The best-known papal name in connection with the catacomb of St. Callistus is that of Sixtus II (257-8). This pope, also famous by reason of his archdeacon Lawrence, was seized whilst teaching the people in the catacombs, and was there beheaded during the persecution of Valerian. Though it is known that he was buried in the crypt of the Popes ² his epitaph has unfortunately so far not been found. Numerous *graffiti* have, however, been discovered, begging the martyr's prayers ³; his name is attached to the cemetery ⁴ and an inscription was set up to him by Pope Damasus in the papal crypt ⁵.

In a chamber not very far from the chapel of the Popes there is to be seen a massive roof-shaped cover of an enormous sarcophagus, and, as it is known that Pope Miltiades (who was Pope when "the long peace" of Constantine was proclaimed) was buried in a crypt in the cemetery of St. Callistus, it has been supposed by De Rossi and others that the said cover was part of the tomb of Miltiades ⁶. More recent studies, have, however, shown it to be quite unlikely that it ever formed part of the tomb of that Pontiff ⁷.

On the other hand, there was found in the same catacombs only a few years ago (1910) another finer sculptured cover of a sarcophagus which to all appearances belonged to the tomb of Pope Zephyrinus, who was the first pope to be buried in the cemetery of

¹ Northcote: *Roma Sotteranea*, p. 175 ff.; Scaglia l. c. pp. 230-1; Barker, l. c. pp. 300-8; cf. p. 292.

² Cf. Duchesne. *Liber Pont.* I. p. 156 n. 8; Northcote, *Roma*, p. 87.

³ Northcote, l. c. p. 132; Scaglia, l. c. p. 90 ff. O Marucchi, *Le Catacombe* p. 155 ff.

⁴ Cf. Barker, l. c. *passim*, and p. 99 "*Coem. Calisti ad S. Xystum*".

⁵ It is given by Duchesne, l. c.; Northcote, l. c. p. 144; Scaglia l. c. p. 101.

⁶ Cf. *L. P.* I. p. 168, and Duchesne's note 4 on p. 169. With regard to the assertion that it was Pope Miltiades who was buried in the catacomb of St. Callistus during the "long peace", it must be noted that the phrase depends upon the interpretation which most archæologists give to this line from the inscription "*Hic congesta*" of Pope Damasus.

"*Hic positus longa vivit qui in pace sacerdos*". (See the whole inscription in Ihm's *Damasi Epigrammata* p. 18 f. Leipzig 1895; or in Scaglia, l. c. p. 100 etc.) Others think that here were buried the *Popes* or bishops who lived in "the long peace". But between the proclamation of Constantine's peace and the pontificate of Pope Damasus (336-85) no Pope except Miltiades was buried in the cemetery of St. Callistus, though one was buried in that part known as the "cemetery of St. Balbina".

⁷ Cf. Graziosi, "*Studio sulla tomba del P. Milziade*" ap. *Bullet. di arch. crist.* 1914, p. 51 ff.

St. Callistus. The carvings show St. Peter being saved from drowning¹.

While so far no trace has been found of the sepulchral monuments of Popes Stephen I, Dionysius, Felix I and Eusebius² we have at least a very interesting Damasian inscription of the last named Pontiff. Running parallel with each side of the inscription there is a notice that Furius Dionysius Philocalus, the friend and admirer of Pope Damasus, engraved the verses which tell of the work of Eusebius for those who had apostatized during the persecution (*the lapsi*) and of his exile and death in Sicily³.

In 1873 there was discovered in the catacomb of St. John in Syracuse an epitaph in Greek⁴ to the effect that "Eusebius of blessed memory died in peace on the eleventh day before the Kalends of September (Aug. 22)". Carini, who first published the epitaph, thought, to begin with, that the name of Eusebius was too common to enable one to identify the Eusebius of the inscription. However, after much study, he came to the conclusion that it was the epitaph of Pope Eusebius, whose body was afterwards taken back to Rome. He formed his theory from the distinguished position in the catacomb in which the epitaph was found, from the identity of the name and the month of death, from the simplicity, correctness, elegance, and dignity of the terms of the epitaph, the form of the letters, which shows that they belong to the beginning of the fourth century, the absence of anything in the epitaph that could suggest a later date and, in fine, from indications in martyrologies which support his view⁵.

¹ Cf. Marucchi ap. ib. 1910, p. 206 ff. and Tav. VIII. The slab was found in the so-called tricora of SS. Sixtus and Cecilia above the cemetery of Callistus.

² Cf. supra p. 8 n. 1. The names of those Popes who were buried in the cemetery of St. Callistus, in the "church of St. Cecily the martyr" are known among other sources from a list on a marble slab erected by Pope Sixtus III (432-40) in the papal crypt. The list includes others besides Popes, and gives the following names: Sixtus, (II) Dionysius, Cornelius, Felix, Pontianus, Fabianus, Gaius, Eusebius, Melchhiades, Stephanus, Urbanus, Lucius, Anterus, and six others not Popes. Cf. Barker p. 292. The English historian William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Reg. Anglorum*, vol. II. p. 407 R. S. has preserved a seventh or eighth century *Itinerary* in which figure the names of the Popes buried "in the church of St. Cecily" as it styles the cemetery. In this list there do not figure the names of Felix, Gaius, Fabian, and Urban, but in their stead figure Zephyrinus, Marcellus, and Eutychian. This *Itinerary* is also printed in Ulrich's *Codex Urbis Romae*, p. 86 ff.

³ See the inscription ap. P. L. I. p. 167.

⁴ Ἀνεπαύματο ὁ μακαρίας μνήμης Εὐσεβίος τῇ πρὸ ἰά καλανδῶν σεπτέμβριον.

⁵ Cf. J. Carini: *Le catacombe in Siracusa e le memorie del P. Eusebio*, Roma 1890.

OF THE MIDDLE AGES

The Catacomb of St. Callistus, with its papal crypt, probably remained undisturbed until the eighth century when, in 756 the cemeteries were plundered by Aistulf and his Lombards¹. Hence Paul I (757-762)² and other Popes, especially Paschal I (817-824), brought into the City many bodies of their predecessors and other saints and martyrs, and gave them, as the most sacred of relics, to various churches. Inscriptions in marble (e. g. the one in Sta. Prassede) and other documents tell us where the bodies of many of these Popes from the Catacombs are now to be found. But, from a careful study recently made of the case of the body of St. Fabian³, it would appear that too much reliance cannot be placed on some of the notices as to the present whereabouts of the remains of some of these very early Popes⁴.

Whilst giving a last glance at these primitive papal monuments, we may note that, if the attempt of Gregorovius to draw the story of the Popes from an inspection of their tombs is fantastic and even misleading, as it induces a straining of the truth, there is no doubt that they have a tale to tell in the history of politics and of art. Certainly, the broken marble slabs of the Catacombs speak to us eloquently of the simplicity of the lives of the first rulers of the Church, as well as of the ruthless violence of the Lombard robbers, or, possibly, of the frantic haste or carelessness of the Roman workmen who opened the graves to save from plunder or desecration the bodies that lay therein.

During the fourth century, and throughout the first half of the fifth, the Popes continued to be buried in the catacombs. But in that period there was no favourite papal cemetery such as that of St. Callistus had been during the third century. Hence we find from the *Liber Pontificalis*, and other authorities, that the Popes were buried (often now in sarcophagi, and not in *loculi*) in the catacombs of Priscilla, Balbina, Calepodius etc. After the "toleration edict" of Milan (313), the Popes increased both the number and the size of the cemeteries, and availed themselves of the greater choice thus offered to them for their burial places. But of the tombs of the Popes

*The Story
told by
the Papal
Sepulchral
Monuments*

*Fourth
and Fifth
Century
Popes still
buried in the
Catacombs.*

¹ *P. L. I.* p. 457.

² *Ib.* 464.

³ By Father Grossi-Gondi, *S. Fabiano P. e M.*; Rome 1916.

⁴ In the list of Popes given in the *Annuario Ecclesiastico*, e. g., for 1906, there are also noted the places where their bodies are said to lie now.

of this period no certain traces appear to remain, except perhaps two fragments of the sepulchral inscription of Pope Zosimus, now in the Lateran Museum (no. 34)¹. The sarcophagus, however, of St. Sylvester I, the first of the Popes who saw the freedom of the Church, was believed to have been in old St. Peter's for many ages. At the angle of the south transept nearest the "confession" of St. Peter there stood a great marble sarcophagus "wonderfully bound round with iron and lead" and in it the body of that Saint was generally believed to rest; and, in fact, when the demolition of the ancient church was begun in 1505, the sarcophagus was found to contain a body clad in the robes of a Pope. Unfortunately, no inscription was found with the body, which was, in the first instance, with its sarcophagus, translated to the east end of the basilica². What subsequently happened to this interesting sarcophagus does not appear to be known. The tradition of St. Peter's, which supposes that the tomb of St. Sylvester was translated from the cemetery of St. Priscilla to St. Peter's also avers that the body of Pope Boniface I (418-22) was brought to Rome from the "cemetery of Maximus on the Via Salaria"³ and buried beneath the pavement of the portico at its northern end⁴. It however makes no mention of any monument erected to his memory.

St. Leo I
buried
in old
St. Peter's.

However, with the third successor of Boniface, there was no further necessity for translation to St. Peter's, for Leo I. (440-461) was buried in the basilica of that apostle. With his interment there was commenced a more or less uninterrupted series of papal burials in old St. Peter's for a thousand years. Originally interred in the portico his body was in 688 placed in the interior of the basilica by Pope Sergius I⁵.

For some five hundred years after Leo I, down i. e. to the pontificate of Leo V († 903), the great majority of the Popes (some seventy of them) were buried in the portico of St. Peter's⁶ or

¹ Cf. C. S. Graziosi: *Nuovi incrementi nel Museo Laterano* in *Nuovo Bullet. di Archeol. Crist.* 1914. p. 57.

² Cf. Alpharantus, l. c. pp. 37; 104; 193. His assertion so far agrees with the valuable seventh or eighth century *Itinerary* preserved by Will. of Malmesbury, as it assigns a "marmoreus tumulus" to Pope Sylvester. Cf. *L. P. I.* 200.

³ Cf. *Martyrol. Hieron. ap. L. P. I.* 228.

⁴ *Alph.* p. 118. ⁵ *Lib. P. I.* 239; 241; 375; 379.

⁶ Hence this and the outer southern aisle came to be known as the portico of the Popes. Cf. Duchesne, "Vaticana", ap. *Mélanges d'archéol.*, 1902, "Le Nécropole pontificale", p. 404 ff.

within the basilica itself. Then from Leo V to Hadrian V († 1276), i. e. during nearly four hundred years, papal burials not infrequently took place in St. John Lateran. But even during that period the greater number took place in St. Peter's¹; and since the days of John XXIII who was buried at Florence (1419), only Martin V, Clement XII and Leo XIII have been buried in the Lateran basilica. During that interval, i. e. from 903 to 1419, especially of course during the Avignon period, quite a number of the Popes were buried outside of Rome altogether. But, since the close of the Great Schism (1417) every Pope has been laid to rest in his episcopal city, Rome.

Before dealing with the papal sepulchral monuments which, from the days of Leo the Great, have survived to our own time, we may touch very briefly on the destruction of old St. Peter's, as most of them are generally supposed to have perished with it. On the return of the Popes from Avignon to Rome towards the close of the fourteenth century, many of the churches were found to be in a ruinous condition. They, like the rest of Rome, had suffered grievously from the absence of the Popes. The population of the City had shrunk to some 17,000 souls². The evils that had resulted from neglect had been aggravated by the terrible earthquake of 1348³, and it came to be rumoured in the following century that the basilica of St. Peter, which was then well over a thousand years old, and which had as far back as the thirteenth century caused anxiety to Gregory X, was in danger of falling. At any rate the biographer of the great Pope Nicholas V tells us more than once that that Pontiff had decided completely to rebuild it⁴; and it is certain that, in his time, foundations for a new apse were laid outside the apse of the old basilica⁵.

*Destruction
of old
St. Peter's.*

¹ Thus, even between John († 928) and Agapitus († 955) it would appear that apart from those two Popes, only John XI was buried in St. John Lateran though it used to be often stated that all the six between them were buried there. Cf. *Alpharansus* p. 76.

² Lanciani, *The Destruction of Ancient Rome*, p. 138.

³ Petrarch, *Epp. Fam.* XI. 7. Gregorovius, *Hist. of the City of Rome*, VI, p. 320. Cf. document in *Lib. Censuum*, p. 589 ed. Fabre.

⁴ J. Manetti, ap. *Rer. Ital. SS.* III pt. II, p. 930 and Grimaldi (*Cod. Barb. Lat.* 2733 fol. 431) who repeats this assertion, and adds that the basilica was in a perilous condition because its southern walls rested on the walls of the old circus of Nero, which could not support the weight of the roof of the basilica, and which were themselves not laid on good foundations.

⁵ Under the year 1452 a number of payments for the new work may be seen in H. von Geymüller, *Die ursprünglichen entwürfe für S. Peter in Rom*. Vienna and Paris, 1875. The book is written both in French and German. J. Klaczko *Rome and*

However, whatever were the intentions of Nicholas with regard to the old basilica, he died without attempting to pull down any portion of it; and, after him, for some fifty years there was wanting enterprise or daring enough for its restoration or destruction. But with Julius II (1503-13) there ascended the papal throne a man with daring and enterprise enough for any great undertaking. He was aware that, owing to the giving way of the southern wall, the basilica was leaning towards the left to what was regarded as a dangerous extent, and that the question of rebuilding it had been considered. Some, however, believe that when he took up the question of its rebuilding he was mainly influenced in his decision to pull it down by the reflection that the old basilica was not grand enough to house the magnificent tomb which Michael Angelo had designed for him: a tomb the magnificence of which may be imagined when it is realized that the heroic statue of Moses now in S. Pietro in Vincoli was designed to be but one of eight similar ones which were not to be at the base of the mausoleum, as the Moses is now, but on it, some thirteen feet from the ground¹. It is indeed more than likely that such a thought did cross the mind of Julius, and may have helped his decision; but, if it is now universally acknowledged that the destruction of the old basilica was necessary², it is perhaps reasonable to believe that of that fact Julius was also convinced, — the more so that, in the inscription which he caused to be engraved on the foundation stone of the new basilica (1507) he spoke of the basilica as being in a ruinous state, owing to its age³. Indeed, more than half a century before the days of Julius, the Spanish traveller, Pier Tafur had found the basilica "in bad condition, and dirty, and in many places in *the Renaissance*, p. 21 New-York, 1903, despite the positive assurances of Manetti, maintains that Nicholas intended "solely and simply to enlarge the apse".

¹ See the description of the tomb in Condivi's *Life of M. Angelo*,... 256. This *Life* can be read in English in C. Holroyd's *M. A. Buonarroti*, London, 1903.

² Such is perhaps the rather too sweeping assertion of Geymüller l. c. 135.

³ The basilica "vetustate et situ squalentem" ap. Grimaldi, *God. Barb. Lat.* 2733 fol. 448. Cf. Mortier, *S. Pierre de Rome*, p. 197 f. Tours, 1900. Canon Fr. Albertini who was present at the laying of the foundation stone says there was carved on its marble surface: "Julius II Pont. Max. aedem divo Petro dicatum vetustate collabentem in digniorem amplioremque formam ut erigat fundamenta jecit, anno Christi MDVII". *De mirabilibus novae et veteris urbis Romae*, p. 53, ed Schmarsow, Heilbronn 1880.

The distinguished architect L. B. Alberti (1480) declared that the southern wall of the basilica was more than six feet out of the perpendicular, and would easily fall: "Neque dubito futurum ut olim levi impulsu modicove motu facto corruat" *De re aedificatoria*, Lib. I. c. 10 fol. XVIII v. Paris. 1512.

ruins" ¹. Whatever were the motives that moved Julius II to sanction the demolition of the old basilica, he found in Bramante an architect as eager for fame as he was himself, and assuredly more reckless in the pursuit of it. The destruction of old St. Peter's was commenced with what can only be described as indecent haste (1505).

At first only some five bays on each side of the west end were more or less completely destroyed to make way for the eastern pair of enormous pillars which were to support the dome ²; but with them were also destroyed wholly or in part the tombs of Popes Vigilius Hadrian IV, Eugenius IV, Nicholas V, Paul II ³ and others, including that of Urban II which is described as second to none in its materials and workmanship ⁴. In addition to the injury, more or less great, inflicted on the monuments which we have just mentioned, others too, even in the eastern portion (which was not destroyed for a century) must have been damaged by accidents and by exposure to the air. The whole of the basilica was, for some thirty years, open to the winds of heaven. It was only under Paul III (1534-50) that Michael Angelo put up the wall that shut off from the eastern half of the basilica that portion of it where the building operations were in progress. Hence, during the reigns of Julius II and Leo X we find constant complaints from the papal Master of Ceremonies, Paris de Grassis, of the difficulties of carrying out ceremonies in the basilica. Sometimes, "on account of its ruinous, dangerous, and unhealthy condition", or because "of the rain, as the Church was uncovered", or because "one could not walk about in safety or in comfort" ceremonies could not be carried out at all ⁵. Nevertheless, as far at least as the tombs of the Popes are concerned, there is, we believe, room to doubt whether the destruction of them at this period was as great as appears to be generally asserted. To begin with, the greater number of the Popes who were buried in the part of the basilica that was first demolished had no sepulchral monuments properly so-called; and we learn, from an inscription of Pope Damasus still preserved in the crypts of the Vatican (n. 47) that even such as they had, had already before the fourth century suffered from the damp. Refer-

*Beginning
of the
Demolition.*

¹ Travels, p. 36 ed. Letts, 1926. Pier was in Rome in 1436.

² Mignanti, *Istoria della Basilica Vaticana*, II. pp. 14-15, Rome, 1867.

³ *Ib.*

⁴ Ciampini, *De sacris edific.*, p. 56.

⁵ *II Diario di Leone X* II, pp. 21, 76, ed. Armellini.

ence is, of course, here made to the tombs of the early Popes "juxta corpus S. Petri" over which Constantine's basilica was built.

Besides, Pope Julius not only would not suffer the body of St. Peter to be moved as Bramante wished ¹ but he would not allow to be touched many marble sarcophagi of Popes and Kings "clad in vestments of gold" which were beneath the pavement of the basilica. This fact, adds Alpharanus "we have verified by experiment" ². Moreover, substantial remains of most of the tombs just mentioned, viz : those of Hadrian IV etc., were transferred to other places — those of Eugenius IV to the church of San Salvatore in Lauro, and those of Hadrian IV (the English Pope), Nicholas V and Paul II to the present Vatican crypt. Besides, there was also transferred to another part of the basilica the great marble sarcophagus "wonderfully bound round with iron and lead" in which, as already noted, was found a body clad in pontifical robes, and believed to be that of Pope Sylvester I ³.

If, moreover, Bramante, dubbed Il Ruinante, on account of his destruction of ancient monuments, did destroy mosaics and inscriptions, still the Vatican crypt and the porch of the present St. Peter's, can show to-day inscriptions which were once in the old basilica ⁴.

In 1547 full control over the whole fabric of old St. Peter's and of the building of the new basilica was given to Michael Angelo who in that year erected the dividing wall to screen off the eastern portion of the ancient fabric. At the same time he completely demolished the western half of the old basilica along with the chapels of St. Petronilla etc. which were to the south-west, outside of it, but connected with it ⁵. Before the demolition was effected, a few of the monuments were transported to the eastern half of the basilica which was left still standing. Among the monuments thus saved

¹ Mortier, l. c. p. 198 n.

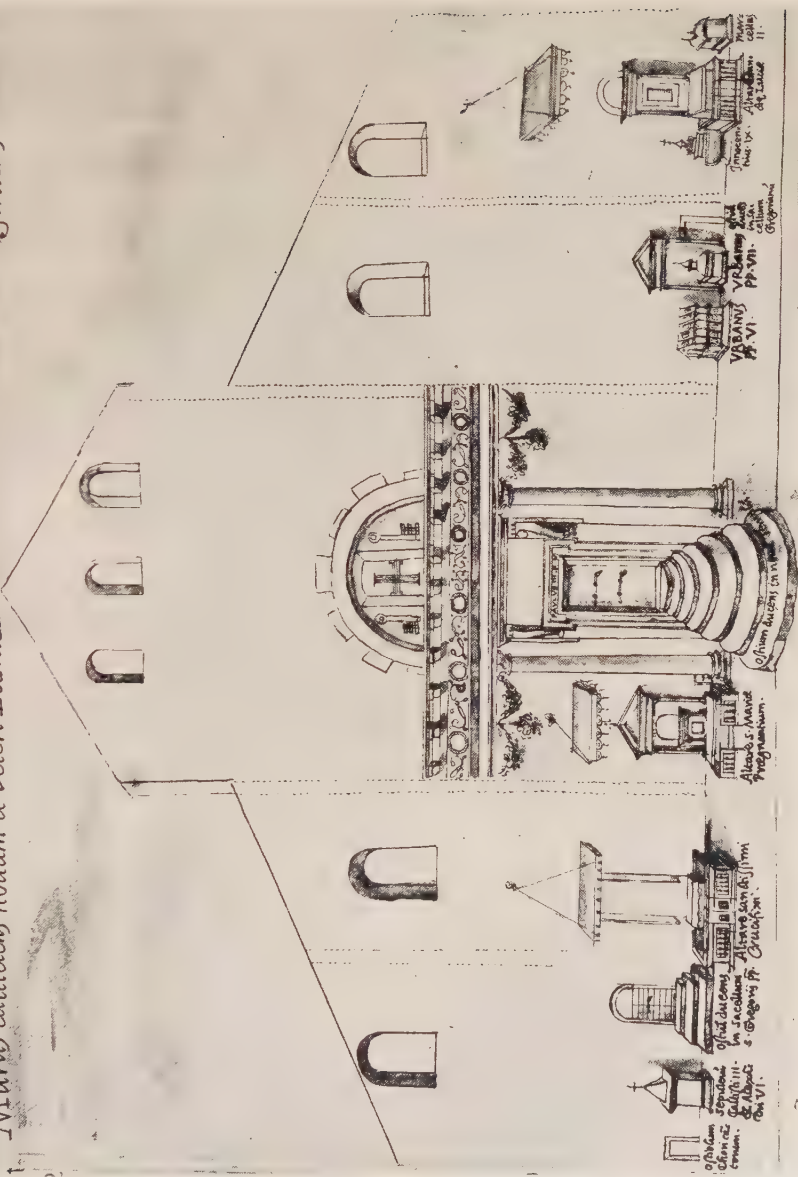
² L. C. p. 38.

³ Alpharanus, pp. 37; 104; 193.

⁴ The inscriptions set up by Gregory III are in the Crypt, and Charlemagne's epitaph of Hadrian I is in the Porch. Cf. Dufresne, *Les Cryptes Vaticanes*, p. 23. From the above it would seem that Klackzo's account of the demolition of the old basilica (*Rome and the Renaissance*, p. 24) is somewhat exaggerated.

⁵ Mortier, p. 212; 217; Mignanti, II p. 29 f. Grimaldi (*Cod. Barb. Lat. 2733 fol. 117*) says that Paul III (1547) "cum prospiceret anteriorem basilicae partem ob posteriorem sub Julio deturbatam, esse quasi coeli inclementiae expositam, in eaque divina ut decet digne et commode peragi non posse, divisorium murum ad ventos arcendos inter novam et veterem basilicam fecit".

Murus diuidens nouam à veteri Basilicam Pauli 17. Pont. Max. usu extructus.



5. WALL DIVIDING THE NEW AND OLD BASILICA, ERECTED BY THE ORDER OF PAUL III.

from destruction were several pontifical tombs. Others, however, were wholly or partially destroyed. Among the latter were those of Urban VI, Nicholas III and Honorius IV.

When Paul V, Borghese, ascended the throne of the Fisherman (1605), the new basilica of St. Peter's had already been one hundred years in building, and eighteen Popes had watched its gradual growth. Paul was anxious to finish it, and his anxiety was quickened by an alarming accident that took place in the portion of the old basilica still in use. One morning a violent gust of wind blew down the marble ledge of a window which was situated above the famous altar of the Madonna della Colonna. The slab falling from such a height crashed down with a noise like thunder, broke into a thousand pieces, and, though it did not injure any of the people hearing Mass at the altar, it naturally terrified them¹. Paul immediately caused the remnant of the old basilica to be thoroughly examined. It was found that its southern wall was five palms (45 inches) out of plumb² and that, if most of the roof beams were sound, some were completely rotten. Accordingly, to avoid a loss of life like to that which had just before taken place at Parma by the fall of a tower, Paul gave orders for the pulling down of all that was left of the old basilica³. But in the Consistory (Sept 7) in which the orders were given, it was decided that before the dismantling was commenced, a plan should be made of all that was left of the old basilica, and that its contents should be transferred to the crypt. We have moreover, plenty of evidence in Alphanus and Grimaldi that great care was taken in placing in safety the bodies of the saints and of the Popes⁴. Still,

¹ Mignanti, II. p. 52. What is said in the text as to the fall of the ledge is enough to show that Klackzo was mistaken in writing (*l. c.* p. 22) that during the whole course of the demolition of St. Peter's "we hear of no accidental falling in" etc. See too what he himself says on p. 20 and what Paris de Grassis tells of the fall of a cross "de alto columnatu basilicae S. Petri" *II Diario*, p. 62.

² Hence Grimaldi (*l. c.*, fl. 245) calls attention to the thick dust on that wall.

³ Cf. the decree of Paul (Sept. 26, 1605). He declared that the remaining portion was likely to fall, and could not be repaired without great expense.

See *Archiv. Vat. consistor.*, *ad an.* 1605-1614 c. II. fol. 32b.-33 ap. J. A. F. Orbaan, *Der abruch alt S. Peters*, p. 35, Berlin, 1919 Cf. *supra*, p. 14 for the testimony of Alberti on the state of the southern wall.

⁴ Mignanti, I. p. 54 ff. Grimaldi, *Cod. B. Lat.* 2733 fol. 112 v. tells us of the orders given to the Canons of St. Peter's about preserving the ancient monuments: "praecepitque ut cuncta servarentur diligenter in pictura et sculptura". The destruction of the old basilica was completed in 1609; the last Mass said therein was on Nov. 15. 1609. Mortier, *St. Pierre* p. 240.

in the course of extracting the bodies, the monuments over them were necessarily much damaged, and, in many instances, only fragments of them found their way to the crypt. Some of them had strange vicissitudes before they reached their final resting-place, as may be illustrated by the story of the tomb of Urban VI. It had been removed from its original site against the left outer wall of the basilica about the year 1570, in order that an entrance might be made into the chapel behind it. It was placed under the great dome then in course of construction.

Nearly twenty years after (1588) Grimaldi one day found the workmen preparing to use it as a water-tank. "In my presence", says the antiquarian, "whilst extracting the earth with which it was filled, they found the Pope's bones, with a ring of which the architect Giacomo della Porta took possession". Both the bones and the tomb were saved from further desecration. They were taken within the eastern portion of the basilica and ultimately (1606) to the crypt¹.

A second
destruction
of monu-
ments, 1605.

Again then in 1605 began a great destruction of the monuments of old St. Peter's, but again as far as papal mausoleums were concerned, we would repeat what was said in connection with the initial demolition of the old basilica. It would seem that not so many monuments were then destroyed as is commonly supposed. Some of the monuments had been more or less damaged in preceding ages, as we know to have been the case in regard to the mausoleum of Gregory III. The mosaic which adorned it was damaged when the body of Eugenius III was placed there (11th cent.)². Others were ruined in the Sack of Rome in 1527³. Others, too, especially those in the portico, had no doubt perished in the various attacks made on St. Peter's during the long struggle between the Empire and the Papacy, as had others by the neglect of the fourteenth century. The centuries had also done their work of destruction, as Alpharanus assures us was the case with the marble mausoleum

¹ Alpharanus p. 76; Grimaldi, Cod. Barb. 2733 fol. 180 f.

² Pet. Mallius, *Descriptio basilic. Vat.*, VII. ap. De Rossi, *Inscript. Christ.* II. 201; Dufresne, *Les cryptes Vat.* p. 24.

³ Grimaldi, Cod. B. V. 2733 fol. 525 v.; Mignanti, II. p. 18, where the violation of the original resting place of Julius II is mentioned. Cf. ib. p. 30; and Paulus Jovius in his life of Cardinal Pompeo Colonna (*Vitae virorum illustrium*, vol. II, p. 165 ed. Basle, 678) tells of the damage done to St. Peter's in the sack of Rome "pontificis aedibus, sacrosancto — templo incredibili immanitate cruentatis atque direptis". Cf. p. 166 for a notice of the fury of the plunderers against "ancient statues".

OF THE MIDDLE AGES

of Benedict IV¹, and the storm which in December 1404 damaged the famous "Navicella" of Giotto² will have done no good to the papal monuments in the portico. Again, it is far from improbable that some papal monuments were damaged by the wholesale permission for burial in St. Peter's granted for gain by the Chapter of the basilica, which led to violations of the "venerable tombs of the saints"³. We may even take it for granted that more of them were injured in the terrible days of the Great Schism, when the troops of Ladislaus King of Naples sacked Rome (1415) and as we are told "did many evil things in St. Peter's"⁴. Possibly, too, some of the monuments may, at least, to some extent, have suffered in the great earthquake that destroyed towers in Rome in 1248, and from the rearrangement of them by Pius II (1458-64) when he refurbished the whole basilica, and, finding the papal monuments scattered about in a disorderly way, placed them in some kind of order against the wall⁵. At any rate, unless we are to accuse Pope Gregory XIII (1572) of wholesale wanton destruction, the monuments in the porch had, in the days of that pontiff and of Alpharanus, fallen into a very bad state. The latter tells us that Gregory, a most enlightened Pontiff, who did much for the new basilica, cleared away a number of monuments and mosaics from the portico, and whitewashed the whole of it⁶. We must suppose that this was done because the porch was encumbered with a number of unsightly objects, distressful to be seen when, on All Soul's day, the Pope and the Cardinals paid their visit "to the tombs of the Popes in the basilica"⁷.

After premising in the first place that the papal tombs in old

¹ *De Basil. Vat.* p. 114.

² Cf. *Diarium Romanum*, ap. R. I. S. S. XXIV. p. 975.

³ See the strong letter of Urban IV (1261-5) to the Chapter: "Inde fit, ut plerumque sepultura (sepulchra) reverenda Sanctorum — ausu sacrilego violantes" etc. ap. Cancellieri, *De Secretariis*, III. p. 1240 ff. Cf. Alpharanus, p. 60.

⁴ Cf. *Diary of Antonius Petri* where (ap. *Rer. Ital. SS.*, XXIV pt. V. p. 90 new ed.) the writer mildly (cuius anima benedicatur per contrarium) damns the soul of Ladislaus for the evil he wrought "in ecclesia S. Petri et in ejus borgo". Cf. *ib.* p. 79 and And. Billius, *Hist.* ap. *ib.* XIX p. 42. See also the above named *Diary* pp. 64-5 for the smashing of the tomb of the nephew of Boniface VIII (1411). Cf. also Angelo de Tummullis, *Notitia Temporum*, c. 10. p. 13 ed. Corvisieri.

⁵ Alpharanus, p. 88.

⁶ *Ib.* p. 115: "Disiectis aliquibus antiquis imaginibus et marmoreis incrustaturis". With regard to Gregory, his contemporary Alpharanus writes "Omnes et precedentes Pontifices fabricarum excellentia vicit" Pg. 130.

⁷ Paris de Grassis, *Il Diario*, p. 77.

Enquiry
into the
fate of
the moun-
ments.

St. Leo
the Great.

St. Peter's were, in the main, divided into three groups, namely, those in the portico, those along the southern wall of the basilica, especially more or less about its centre and those in its southern transept; and then in the second place, that not every Pope had any kind of mausoleum erected to his memory, we may enquire in some detail into the history of the known monuments.

As already stated, the first Pope to be buried in the porch of St. Peter's was Leo the Great (440-61). When, in process of time his monument was obscured by those of his successors, Sergius I (as an inscription which he set up informs us) in the year 688 removed it into the south transept of the basilica itself. He then adorned it with precious marbles, and with frescoes and mosaics¹. Subsequently we read of attention being given to it by Leo IV and Paschal II, and of the latter's placing the bodies of Popes Leo II, III, and IV in the same locality. Although the marble tomb containing their bodies was found in 1580 by Gregory XIII, it was not till the time of the final destruction of the old basilica (1601) that the coffin of Leo I was found. The remains of the four Leos were then put in a fine ancient sarcophagus which was placed under the altar of our Saviour, "della Colonna", in the new basilica, where it can still be seen². From an old print of it given by Grimaldi³ we see that the subjects of its sculptures are such as are found on many other ancient Christian sarcophagi. In the centre of the front side Our Lord is shown giving the Scroll of the Law to St. Peter, who is represented as carrying his cross. On each side of Him we see such familiar subjects as Elias dropping his mantle for his disciple.

When, in 1714, the altar of S. Leo I was ready, his relics were placed beneath it⁴. But of his original monument, or of "the more manificent" ones of his successors which blotted it out from sight, nothing now remains, and history records no more of the additions made to it by Pope Sergius than a payment for the carrying away of the column that adorned either it, or the chapel round it⁵.

Very little indeed is known of the sepulchral monuments of Leo's successors for many ages. While most of the Popes continued

¹ *L. P.* 379.

² Cf. *Cod. Urbin. Lat.* 1075 fol 325 and 340 b. ap. Orbaan, *l. c.*, p. 59.

³ *Cod. Barb. Lat.* 2732 fol 79-80.

⁴ Cf. Alpharanus, p. 38-9 and *Acta SS., Propyl. ad mensem Maii*, p. 66 f. ed. 1868.

⁵ Frey, *Jahrbuch*, 1913, p. 99, n. 10. ap. Cerati's *Alpharanus, l. c.*

OF THE MIDDLE AGES

to be buried in St. Peter's we read of Pope Felix III (483-92) of the same family as St. Gregory the Great, being buried in St. Paul's. The reason was that his family vault was there¹. The Vatican crypt has a small fragment (n. 124) of the epitaph of Boniface II (530-2)²; and we have the melancholy satisfaction of knowing that the monument of Pope Vigilius was one of the first to perish in the demolition of the Basilica.

Of the tomb of the latter's predecessor, Silverius, no remains are now to be found; but the little island of Palmaria or Palmarola, in the small archipelago of Ponziano, boasts that it once possessed it. Through the machinations of the empress Theodora and Justinian, in which, it appears, Vigilius was involved, the intrepid Pope Silverius was exiled, and the fisher-folk of Palmarola tell how: "il glorioso martire, S. Silverio, Protettore nostro" was in their island done to death by starvation (Jan. 20, 538). They point to the *picco* of S. Silverio, to the remains of a monastery beneath its shadow sacred to his memory, and to the cave or grotto within it in which he died. The island was in consequence once much frequented by pilgrims; but to day the only ones come from the better known island of Ponza, some five miles east. The islanders believe that the relics of the Saint are still in their midst, for they point out that, though it has been said that they were translated to Rome, there is no agreement as to the Church in which they were placed³.

The story of the tomb of Gregory the Great is similar to that of Leo the Great. The illustrious "watchman" was first buried in the porch of the old basilica against its outer row of columns where was set up the inscription of which a fragment still remains⁴ and where an altar was soon dedicated to him⁵. Gregory IV (827-44) brought the body within the basilica into a well-adorned oratory which he had caused to be built in the most southerly aisle⁶. The body of the saint was enclosed in a great urn of black and white oriental granite, oval in form (*concha aegyptiaca*) and surrounded with iron bands⁷. Some six hundred years later, when Pius II

¹ *L. P. I.* p. 253-4. ² *Ib.* p. 283 and Dufresne *l. c.* p. 64.

³ Cf. *Monografia per le Isola del Gruppo Ponziano* Napoli, 1855, p. 47. The author cites an epitaph from the *Acta Sanctorum*:

"Romanae supremus apex Silverius Ædis Ossa sub hoc retinet mortuus extraneo".

He also says that there is a statue of the Saint in Ponza, and describes the feast of the martyr held there. Cf. pp. 182, 392-4. See also Mattei, *L'arcipelago Ponziano*, Naples, 1857, 2nd ed., p. 45.

⁴ Dionysius (i. e. Sarti e Settele) II. ⁵ *Ib.* p. 18. ⁶ *L. P.*, p. 74. ⁷ Alphar., p. 87.

redecorated the altar to receive the head of St. Andrew, he placed the body beneath the altar ¹. In 1605 the altar was desecrated ² and the remains of the great Doctor were put in a sculptured marble sarcophagus, which was placed beneath the altar of the Cappella Clementina in the new basilica, where it now rests beneath the mosaic of the Miracle of St. Gregory copied from the picture of Andrea Sacchi ³.

Seventh
Century.

Of the original sepulchral monuments of Gregory's successors of the seventh century we possess no more remains than we do of that Saint's, and we know much less about their history. The Vatican crypts have fragments of the epitaph of his immediate successor Sabinian ⁴; and of the tomb of another of his contemporaries, Boniface IV, or, more exactly, of the little oratory in which it was placed, and of which, once resplendent with marble and carvings, Ciampini gives a rude sketch ⁵.

Throughout the whole of this seventh century, in which lived Sabinian and Boniface IV, the only special point recorded about any pontifical tomb is that that of Sergius I was "most elegant" ⁶.

Eighth
Century.

In the following century while we know that the Popes continued to be buried either in the Porch, or in the extreme left nave, we know nothing about any of their monuments. However, we may note that in the western angle of the southern transept, Paul I (757-768) erected an oratory to Our Lady, and further adorning it with fine portraits (*imagines*) and elegant mosaics, and enriching it with relics from the Catacombs, enclosed it within bronze railings. Though he died at St. Paul's, the Romans interred him in this oratory, which was regarded as so sacred that women were not allowed to enter it ⁷. Of Hadrian I also it is recorded that he

¹ *Ib.* pp. 85-6.

² Mignanti, II. 57. Cf. Grimaldi, *Cod. Barb. Lat.*, 2733 fol. 41 and fol. 51 v. ff. During the destruction of the old basilica the head of St. Andrew and the body of St. Gregory had been placed in the tomb of Pius II in S. Andrea della Valle.

³ Alp. p. 87 Cf. *Cod. Urbin. Lat.* n. 1074 fol. 9^b. Grimaldi *Cod. Barb. Lat.*, n. 2733 fol. 52 (an. 1606) says: "Capsa cum corpore S. Gregorii intra aliam capsam cipressinam novam" etc. Cf. Orbaan, p. 43. Cf. Mann, *Lives of the Popes*, I. pp. 221 and 224 n.

⁴ Dufresne, *Cryptes*, p. 79.

⁵ *De Aedif.*, p. 67. Cf. plate XIX lit. M. opp. p. 58. The epitaph of this Pope in the Vatican Crypts is not contemporary. The story of the translation of his body is given by Mignanti, *l. c.* II. 5.5 See Orbaan, *l. s.* p. 37 for the finding of the body "entire and fresh" in 1605.

⁶ Alp. p. 116.

⁷ Alp. p. 42.

built an oratory to contain the famous "cathedra Petri" which was enclosed in a well-carved marble receptacle. He too was buried in his own oratory. Of his monument all that now remains is his epitaph composed by his friend Charlemagne. It was engraved on a slab not of black Numidian marble as is often said, but of *giallo antico*, and may be seen to-day in the Portico of the present basilica. "He, O noble Rome, he, the glory of the City of the World, raised aloft thy shrine... I Charles have written these verses bewailing my Father... Do you who may read them say with suppliant heart, O pitiful God have mercy on them both" ¹.

Close to the door in the south transept that led to the chapel of S. Petronilla, Pope Paschal I (817-24) built an oratory in honour of the martyrs SS. Processus and Martinianus, and, in accordance with his custom, adorned it with mosaics, and enclosed it within bronze railings. Then with solemn procession he brought the bodies of the two martyrs from the cemetery of St. Agatha, and placed them in a sarcophagus of porphyry beneath the altar ². We are told that women especially had great devotion to this shrine, the sanctity of which was increased by the number of other bodies of Saints which Paschal translated from various catacombs and buried beneath its pavement. Here the Pope was himself buried, seemingly simply beneath the pavement without any monument. At any rate, when the shrine was in 1548 transported to the eastern remnant of the old basilica, and afterwards in 1605 to its present position in the north transept of the new one, no mention is made of the monument of him with whose features his mosaics at Sta. Prassede have made us so familiar ³.

Of the other sepulchral monuments of the ninth century Popes, erected like those of their predecessors for the most part in the Porch, or in the more southerly left nave, we can only regret their total disappearance, the more so that those of the great Pontiffs Benedict III, Nicholas I, John VIII, and John IX are described as respectively "most elegant", "outstanding", "most beautiful" and "of no mean excellence" ⁴.

¹ See De Rossi, *L'inscription du tombeau d'Hadrian I* in *Mélanges d'archéol. et d'hist.* t. VIII (1880) p. 478 ff.

² Cf. *L. P.* II p. 53; Mallius, n. 93; Alph., p. 44.

³ Alph. *l. c.*

⁴ *Ib.* pp. 116, 117, 118; Ciampini, *De sac. aedif.* p. 79.

Tenth
Century.
Gregory V.

Arriving at the tenth century, the darkest hour of Rome's night, though we know that several of the Popes were then buried in the Lateran — that John XIII was buried in St. Paul's, Benedict VII in Sta. Croce ¹ — only one monument of that turbulent period has survived to our day. It is that of the first German Pontiff, Gregory V, the last Pope but one of the tenth century. It was found along with the tombs of other Popes under the pavement of the old basilica when the foundations of the present façade were being made ². In the Vatican crypt (n. 108) the epitaph and tomb of this unfortunate Pope, so young, and so soon worried to death by the Romans, may still be seen. From the epitaph we learn something of the original position of the tomb, in the outer left nave of the old basilica, as well as of the career of Gregory. His tomb, indifferently carved though it be, is, needless to say, not the work of the tenth century. It is a fourth or fifth century Christian sarcophagus, showing some of the most common subjects sculptured at that time, i. e. on the left front side Our Lord's curing the man born blind, and the woman who touched the hem of His garment; on the right the denial of St. Peter; and in the centre our Saviour giving the scroll of the Law to St. Peter, as to another Moses ³.

Eleventh
Century.
Sylvester II

Pope Sylvester II, the famous Gerbert, the first French Pope, follows the first German Pope and touches both the tenth and eleventh centuries. He was buried under the portico, to the right of St. John Lateran's, and his third successor Sergius IV caused a long inscription for his tomb to be engraved on a slab of white marble. The hexameters and pentameters of which it is composed are separated by a sign shaped like a lance-head, are coupled together in long lines, and are, some of them, decidedly obscure in meaning.

John the Deacon, who, in the twelfth century, wrote a description of the Lateran basilica, speaking of the tomb of Sylvester, assures us that "even in the driest weather, and though it is not in a damp place, drops of water flow from it to the astonishment of everyone" ⁴. Another historian (Rasponi) of the Lateran basilica

¹ The monument to Benedict V (965) that once adorned the old cathedral at Hamburg, where he died, was but a cenotaph erected some centuries after Benedict's death. Cf. Mann's *Popes*, IV, p. 279, and Müntz, *Les tombeaux des Papes en Allemagne*, p. 352.

² *Cod. Urbin. Lat.*, n. 1077 fol. 27 b. ap. Orbaan p. 59.

³ See Duchesne, *Les Origines du culte chrétien*, c. IX n. I; Grisar, *Analecta Romana*, 188 ff. ⁴ *Eccles. Lat. ap. Pat. Lat.*, t. 194 p. 1551.



6. THE TOMB OF POPE GREGORY V, NOW IN THE CRYPT OF ST. PETER'S.

relates that in the course of certain alterations to the church which took place in 1648, "the corpse of Sylvester II was found in a marble sarcophagus twelve feet below the surface. The body was entire, and clad in pontifical robes; the arms were crossed, and the head was covered with the sacred tiara. But, as soon as the air came thoroughly in contact with it, it fell to dust, and a fragrant odour filled the air, likely enough from the aromatic spices with which it had been embalmed. Nothing remained intact but a silver cross and the pontifical (signet) ring"¹. What became of the ashes and sarcophagus of the great Pope is not known; but his epitaph may still be seen in St. John Lateran's let into one of the pillars of the first aisle on the right. It tells how, after ruling the metropolitan sees of Rheims and Ravenna, he became "the new Shepherd of the whole world" through the influence of Otho III to whom he was especially dear. Both of them adorned their age, which rejoiced in them. After a reign of five years he died, taking with him the peace of the world. With filial love his successor Sergius IV (1001-12) raised this monument, and do you who may chance to behold it, say: O God Almighty, have mercy on him.

In this, the eleventh century, and in the two following, a number of Popes were, like Sylvester II, buried in St. John Lateran's, but not one of their monuments appears to have escaped the disastrous fires of 1308 and 1361, which ruined that ancient basilica².

Speaking of the latter fire (Aug. 18, 1361) the Chronicle of Viterbo says that fire destroyed a great many relics and other things and the columns as well as the sacristy, and all it contained³.

Passing over the tomb of John XIX because, though pronounced most elegant by Alpharatus⁴ no remnant of it now remains, we may in thought ascend the Alban hills, and enter the castellated walls of the great Greek abbey of Grottaferrata. There, if we follow the unbroken tradition of the monastery, died, doing humble penance, one who had, in the wildness and ignorance of youth, disgraced the

*Papal
monuments
destroyed
in the
Lateran.*

*John XIX.
Benedict IX*

¹ *De basilica et patriarchio Lateran.* Rome 1656, p. 76. I have here and elsewhere borrowed some sentence from my *Lives of the Popes*, V. p. 107 ff.

² Exception must be made of the sarcophagus of the Empress Helen, which was used as the tomb of Anastasius IV. The charred remains of the bodies of the Popes which were taken from their calcined tombs were buried together near the lesser door of the basilica. Cf. Rasponi, *De basilica Lateran.* p. 75

³ *Cron. di Viterbo*, ed. Cristofori, p. 53, Foligno, 1888.

⁴ P. 116.

chair of Peter on which he had been thrust by the power and gold of his father Alberic (1032). In the wall of the present abbey Church there is shown an old sepulchral slab, and as it bears in mosaic the arms of the Conti, who were Counts of Tusculum, viz., a chequered eagle, it is believed to be part of the tomb of the wretched Benedict¹. It must, however, be confessed that the extant fragments reveal an advanced style of "Cosmati" work that scarcely belongs to the middle of the eleventh century. In any case the monument cannot be contemporary, but may well have been erected to the penitent Pontiff by a member of his family in a somewhat later age.

Gregory VI

The story of the last days of Gregory VI, who had made an honest effort to put a term to the disgraceful career of Benedict, is a proof of the disorder of the times. More or less compelled to resign the pontifical dignity at the Council of Sutri, Gregory was taken by the Emperor Henry III to Germany, but exactly where and when he died is not known. Alphanus, moreover, names this Pope as one of those whose tombs were not known². Yet Maphaeus Vegius supposes he was buried in St. Peter's, and tells the following legend about his burial³. Because he had been the cause of many men being killed, the cardinals told the dying Pontiff that he could not be buried in St. Peter's. Gregory, however, after declaring that he had been compelled to resort to arms to secure the safety of the pilgrims who were visiting "the thresholds of the Apostles", proposed this test of his innocence. "When I am dead", he said, "place my body before the basilica and bolt the doors, and if God will not open them, leave it outside". This was done; but no sooner were the doors fastened when a sudden furious gust of wind burst them open, and Gregory's body was laid to rest by those of his predecessors.

Clement II.

But the scandals arising from the evil life of Benedict IX were at length forcibly ended by Henry III, when he caused the German Suidger of Mayendorff to mount the papal throne as Clement II (1046-7). Hardly however, had he sat thereon, when he was seized

¹ Cf. Placentinus, *De sepulchro Benedicti IX* Rome 1747, where two plates opposite p. 2 show the existing slab. More fragments of the tomb have been found comparatively recently. Cf. also Mann, *Lives of the Popes*, V. 290 ff.

² *L. C.* p. 76.

³ *Hist basil. Vat. ap. Acta SS.* t. VII. Jun., p. 75. v. 1457.

OF THE MIDDLE AGES

with a mortal sickness, during which he expressed a wish to be buried in his native land. His dead body was accordingly conveyed to Germany, and was interred in his episcopal city of Bamberg in the choir of St. Peter's. The original monument erected to him was violated by the Protestants in the sixteenth century, and the top of the sarcophagus "representing, seemingly, a recumbent figure with an inscription round it then disappeared. At present nothing remains of the original tomb but the sarcophagus, of which all the sides are ornamented with reliefs, symbolic in character, and dating from about the thirteenth century. A simple stone has replaced the former carved cover. It bears an *epitaph* in late sixteenth century characters stating that bishop Suidger, afterwards Pope, died in Rome, Oct. 10. 1047" ¹.

Contemporary with Benedict IX, but of a very different character, was the saintly Alsatian Pontiff, Bruno of Egisheim, Leo IX. (1045-55), the first of the Popes who came under the inspiring influence of Hildebrand. When his end drew near, he caused himself to be carried before the marble sarcophagus which was to hold his dead body, and throwing himself upon it "signed it with the sign of the cross, and prayed that on the day of retribution it might present him before the throne of resurrection, 'For I know that my Redeemer liveth'" ². Placed against the east wall of the Basilica of St. Peter, it was opened on the 11th. of January 1606, and certain parts of the body and a cross which were found with it were extracted as relics. The remains were then "placed in a fresh coffin of cypress wood. This, with an inscription recording the act of translation, was put into a sarcophagus of white marble, and the whole placed beneath the altar now dedicated to the Stigmata of St. Francis of Assisi" ³.

The most striking papal mausoleum of any age was assuredly that of Leo's successor, Victor II (1055-7). At one time it used to be stated, as for instance, by the Bollandists, on conjecture only ⁴ that Victor was buried in the Cathedral of Florence. He may, indeed, have been ultimately interred there, but the publication of

¹ Mann: *Lives of the Popes*, V. 284 f, and E. Müntz, *Les tombeaux des Papes en Allemagne*, p. 349-353.

² Mann: *l. c.* VI. 177 quoting Libuin as an eye-witness.

³ *Ib.* 179. Cf. Alpharanus, p. 67 n.; Mignanti, II 58-9, 321.

⁴ *Propyl. ad mens. Maii*, p. 300.

fresh documents has revealed the dramatic circumstances of the original burial of Pope Victor II. After his death close to Arezzo, (1057) a number of his fellow-countrymen resolved to carry his body back with them to Germany. Unfortunately, however, for them, they were ambushed in the neighbourhood of Ravenna, and robbed of all their property. They were therefore compelled to bury the body they had guarded so jealously outside Ravenna "in the basilica of St. Mary, which is in the shape of the Roman Pantheon, and with sorrowful hearts to make their way back, as best they could, to their country"¹. The basilica of St. Mary was no other than the well-known round mausoleum of Theodoric, which had been converted into a monastic church².

Whatever ultimately became of the body of Victor II, it does not appear now to be within the mausoleum of that most enlightened of the Ostrogothic kings, Theodoric.

Stephen X.

Whether Pope Victor was, or was not, buried in the cathedral of Florence, his two immediate successors Stephen X and Nicholas II certainly were. More exactly, they were buried in the Church of S. Reparata, destroyed in the fourteenth century to make way for the present glorious Duomo. Whilst the foundations of the latter were being dug in August 1357, there was found a tomb the inscription of which showed that it contained the body of Stephen X. On the breast of the corpse was found the papal brooch adorned with gems and with a golden clasp. On its head was a mitre, and there was a ring on its finger. "The relics were all entrusted to the Calonaci to await honourable burial"³. This they no doubt received, for it appears that the body now lies in the new cathedral of Florence⁴; but I can find no further reference to the tomb of Stephen.

Nicholas II.

With regard, however, to that of Nicholas II, one might suppose from a notice in an appendix to Alpharanus that it had been brought to Rome, as his tomb along with those of many others, is assigned to the outer left aisle. But in the text of Alpharanus the name of Nicholas II is given as one of the Pontiffs "the position of whose tomb is not known"⁵.

¹ *Anon. Haserensis*, ap. P. L. t. 146. ² Duchesne *L. P.* II. 227 n.

³ Mann, *Popes*, VI 224, quoting Mat. Villani, *Istorie*, VII. c. 91 ap. R. I. SS., XIV.

⁴ Cf. Canon Albertini, *De mirabilibus novae et veteris Romae*, p. 57 ed. Schmarsow, Heilbronn, 1886.

⁵ *Alph.*, pp. 190 and 76-7.

OF THE MIDDLE AGES

Of Alexander II, the successor of Nicholas II, one of those Popes Alexander II
who did great good under the guidance of Gregory VII, we merely Gregory VII
know he was buried in the Lateran basilica. All men know how the inspirer of five of his predecessors, Hildebrand, died at Salerno exclaiming : "I have loved justice, and hated iniquity, and therefore I die in exile". Not so many, however, know the response which his despairing cry evoked. "In exile", cried an attendant bishop, under the inspiration of faith "thou can'st not die; for, in the stead of Christ and His Apostles, thou hast received from God the Gentiles for thine inheritance, and the ends of the earth for thy possession". However true was the bishop's response, Gregory's body at least remained outside Rome. It was laid to rest in the church of St. Matthew which Gregory had consecrated the year he died (1085). The marble sarcophagus in which he had been buried was opened in 1578, and his body was found entire. After having been opened again in 1605 for the removal of relics, the remains of the great Pontiff were transferred to their present position beneath the altar erected by the famous John of Procida.

The tomb on which the visitor to Salerno gazes to day is that made by Archbishop Mark Anthony Colonna (1578), but the indifferent statue of Gregory himself, over the altar, was only erected by archbishop Beltrano (1606-1611). Altogether, the whole memorial is utterly unworthy of one of the noblest heroes of the Church or of the world.

Gregory's successor, another Benedictine like himself, died at the Victor III.
most celebrated of all monastic centres, Monte Cassino. According to his own desire he was buried in a tomb placed in the apse of the chapter-house¹; but in 1515 his remains were taken from this primitive tomb, and transferred to the chapel of St. Bertharius in the great monastic church. In the days of Mabillon² they were still there, but the primitive tomb had disappeared³. The same

¹ *Chron. Cass.*, III. 73.

² *Acta O. S. B.*, Sacc. VI. pt. 2, p. 616 ed. Venice. With regard to the epitaph Mabillon says: "quod hodieque visitur inscriptum ejus sepulchro in capella S. Bertharii". In that chapel Abbot Angelo de Nuce placed the relics at the right of the altar.

³ The epitaph is given ap. Duchesne, *L. P.* II 292. In the latest description of Montecassino (Rome 1912) it is stated that the body of the Pope was placed under the altar of St. Victor in his chapel (p. 54). On Aug. 29, 1892, a solemn examination of these relics was made. They were found in a leaden case. The account of the

hand, that of Bramante, wrought the same havoc at Monte Cassino as it wrought in old St. Peter's.

Urban II.

Most unfortunately there is nothing left of the fine ornate marble sarcophagus in which were placed the mortal remains of Urban II, of him whose great glory was that, as an inscription set forth, he was the originator of the Crusades — "auctor expeditionis in infideles"¹. He was buried in the south transept near Hadrian I, and his sepulchre was one of the first to be destroyed in 1505.

Twelfth
century
tombs
destroyed.

As Urban's successor, Paschal II, as well as the majority of the Popes of the twelfth century who did not die outside Rome were buried in the Lateran, no remnants are now to be found of his tomb, nor of those of Callistus II, Honorius II, Innocent II, Celestine II, Lucius II², Alexander III, Clement III, and Celestine III.

It has recently become known, however, that the mausoleum of Paschal II in the right aisle of the basilica was made of the purest marble adorned with sculptures³. But we may note with regard to Innocent II that his body was originally interred in the splendid porphyry sarcophagus which had once held the remains of the Emperor Hadrian⁴. After the fire in 1308 had ruined the monuments of the Lateran, the damaged sarcophagus was placed outside the vestibule, and the bones of Innocent were taken to Sta Maria in Trastevere which he had completely renovated. They were placed beneath a plain slab bearing a simple inscription which may still be seen in that Church⁵. The plain but elegant marble monument in the left aisle which now contains the remains of the body of Innocent II is the work of Pius IX (1869).

Anasta-
sius IV.

Anastasius IV selected for his tomb the huge porphyry sarco-

examination will be found in the Archives of Montecassino, duly signed by Abbot Nicholas, and a medical doctor (P. Pastiglione).

¹ Cf. Ciacconius, *Vitae RR. PP.*, I. 440, and Alph., 42.

² With regard to this Pope's place of burial, Alpharanus asserts (p. 76) that according to Maffeus Veggius, he was buried in the outer left nave of St. Peter's. It would seem that Veggius supported his contention by an inscription found in the pavement there (Ib. p. 176). The same is to be said exactly regarding the tomb of Celestine III.

³ "Talapsico opere sculpto". See the new biography of Paschal found in the Tortosa codex of the *L. P.* Cf. *L. P.*, p. 152 ed. March, Barcelona. 1925.

⁴ John the Deacon, *De eccles. Lat.*, c. 8. ap. *P. L.*, t. 98.

⁵ As we learn from an inscription set up by the canons of the church in 1657. This inscription is now built into the outer left wall of the church. It may be read in Galletti, *Inscript. Rom.*, I. n. 47 p. XXXVII. The inscription mentioned in the text may be read ib. n. 46.

phagus which had once held the body of the Empress Helena, and which, also damaged by the fire, but now restored after very great labour, may be seen in the Vatican Museum. It is much more remarkable for its size than for any artistic beauty ¹.

The first Pope of the twelfth century, the unfortunate Gelasius *Gelasius II.* II died in France, and was buried in the great abbey Church of Cluny "between the cross and the altar behind the choir" ². His sepulchral monument would appear to have been a fine one, as it was "of bright marble in the Tuscan style" ³. It was still to be seen in the eighteenth century, but shared the fate of the glorious Church which held it, which was destroyed by the revolutionary fury of 1790.

Although the lowly disciple of St. Bernard, Pope Eugenius III, *Eugenius III* was buried in the nave of old St. Peter's in a tomb "erected with great splendour" ⁴. His mausoleum is as unknown to us as the majority of those that once adorned it. Perhaps in this case there may not be much cause for regret, as it would appear to have been a patchwork "made up" we are told "from different stones" ⁵, taken no doubt from the monuments of classical Rome.

The next Pope in this century to be buried in St. Peter's was *Hadrian IV.* our countryman, Hadrian IV. His tomb was originally erected near that of Pope Vigilius against the inner wall of the south transept. It was one of the first to be interfered with when the great demolition began in 1505; but at least part of it was in the first instance translated to the eastern half of the basilica, and placed in the outer north aisle near the tomb of Innocent VIII. On Nov. 8, 1606 it was opened, and the body of the Pope "was found entire". It is described as that of an undersized man, wearing slippers of Turkish make, and a ring with a large emerald ⁶. The tomb was then conveyed to the Vatican Crypt. There to-day Englishmen may gaze on the solid old pagan sarcophagus of red Egyptian granite, simply adorned with the favourite classical ornamentation of the ox skulls

¹ Cf. Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 197 f. and Rasponi, *De basilica Lateran.*, p. 77 Rome, 1656.

² *L. P.*, II. 321.

³ *Ciacc.*, I. 471.

⁴ Robert de Monte, *Chron.* ad an. 1152.

⁵ *L. P.*, II. 387; *Alph.*, 173; 176; 186.

⁶ Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 145; *Alph.* p. 46, says of the tomb that it was "nobilissima marmorea concha exornatum".

and garlands, which contains the remains of their famous fellow-countryman. Above it may be read the simple inscription: "Hadrianus Papa IV". This solid tomb would appear not to have constituted the whole monument erected to him in old St. Peter's, for, unless Ciampini has made some mistake, there was a recumbent effigy of him in connection with it¹. But if it ever existed, there is unfortunately no trace of it to-day.

Lucius III.

For some three-quarters of a century after the English Pope, his successors were buried either out of Rome or in the Lateran, so that Innocent III speaking of the death of his predecessor Celestine III, says he was buried in the Lateran basilica "according to custom"².

Of those who, during the interval, were buried out of Rome, the first was Lucius III (1181-5). He was buried at Verona, and the story of his tomb is indeed curious. His body was interred in a marble sarcophagus which was placed in front of the high altar, and on its cover was engraved an inscription which proclaimed that Lucca had given him birth, Ostia the episcopacy, Rome the papacy, and Lucca death³. On the restoration of the cathedral by bishop Gilberti (1524-43) the body of the Pope was placed beneath the pavement in the middle of the sanctuary. A slab of red Veronese marble recorded the fact that it covered the bones of Pope Lucius. Beneath the slab the remains of Lucius III would probably have remained unseen till to-day, had not a great storm (Feb. 25, 1879) in damaging the apse, thrown a large fragment of stone on to the tomb of the Pope, and smashed to atoms the slab of Gilberti. When the debris was removed, the original tombstone, also of red Veronese marble, and showing the figure of Pope Lucius in high relief was to the profound astonishment of all present, brought to light. The tomb was re-covered with a fresh marble slab, but the original one was built into the wall of the cathedral where it may still be seen⁴.

¹ *De Sac. Edific.* p. 108. After naming the sepulchre of Hadrian he adds: "Cum dico sepulchrum, intelligo statuam marmoream jacentem quam olim erat ad sepulchrum."

² *Ep. I., Jan.* 9. 1198. Hence the statement in the appendix to *Alphar.* p. 176 that Celestine was interred in St. Peter's must be a mistake.

³ *Ap. L. P., III.* 451. Before the discovery of the original tomb, and until he had discovered a copy of the inscription in the Catalogue of Zwettl, Duchesne believed that the inscription could not be contemporary. Cf. *ib.*, II. p. 569.

⁴ Cf. *La tomba di Lucio III* in Verona by Mons. O. Iozzi, Rome, 1907. The text is taken from my *Lives of the Popes*, X. 271 f.

OF THE MIDDLE AGES

After a brief reign, Urban III, the successor of Lucius III, was buried at Ferrara, behind the high altar of the cathedral in a tomb of red marble. In the fourteenth century the tomb was raised aloft on four pillars, and furnished with an inscription that stated that Urban was buried in 1185 (it should be 1187) and that his body was translated on Aug., 1305 in the days of Bro. Guido, bishop of Ferrara¹. To-day the sarcophagus and its columns have disappeared, and have been replaced by a more modern sepulchral monument built into the left wall of the choir. It consists first of a medallion showing the bust of the Pope wearing a tiara with three crowns, then below it the arms of the Pope (a sieve) and beneath them again a slab bearing the inscription already given, but with the date altered to 1187. Perhaps part of this monument may date from the fifteenth century, for Garampi, citing extracts from documents relating to the fabric of the cathedral of Ferrara, gives receipts of the years 1460 to 1461 for work done in connection with the tomb of Urban III., e. g., for making "238 litere suxo (beneath) l'archa del P. Urbano", and for making "una mitra papale suxo la dita archa, e uno crivello (sieve)"².

Urban III.

Of the tomb of Urban's successor, Gregory VIII, who was interred at Pisa, there is little to be said, as it perished when the cathedral of the city was burnt in the sixteenth century (1600). It was of white marble, and was placed at first in the chapel of our Lady, and then to the right of the main door. In 1568 a painted memorial was set up, and a new inscription composed to keep alive the memory of the Pope until a new and fitting marble cenotaph could be made³. It would appear that the suitable time is not yet!

Gregory VIII.

The two immediate successors of Gregory VIII, i. e., Clement III and Celestine III were both buried in the Lateran, and such monuments as may have been erected to them perished by fire with the other Lateran monuments in the fourteenth century.

Clement III
and Celestine III.

Fortunately, their successor, Innocent III has fared somewhat better in the matter of his sepulchral monument. The marble sarcophagus in which his body was first placed stood originally near the altar of St. Ercolano in the Cathedral Church at Perugia. When in

Innocent III.

¹ Cf. Pipino, *Chron.*, I. c. 12 ap. *R. I. SS.*, IX 598, and *L. P.*, II 451.

² *Il sigillo della Garfagnano*, p. 98 n., Rome, 1759.

³ Cf. Papebrock, *Propyl. ad mens. Maii (Acta SS.)*, pt. II p. 30 ed. 1868.

the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the cathedral was rebuilt, many of the old monuments, including the tombs of Innocent III, Urban IV, and Martin IV perished, as is usual in such cases. On the destruction of their sepulchral monuments, the bodies of the three Pontiffs just mentioned were placed in an iron casket (*cassa*). This was opened in 1587 in the presence of the historian Crispolti¹. He declares that he saw two bodies covered with antique chasubles, and wearing mitres, rings on their fingers, and other pontifical ornaments. The bodies were in a tolerably good state of preservation. There were also some other bones enveloped in some kind of cloth. Chouiller², who quotes Crispolti, argues that as Martin IV objected to his body being embalmed, and ordered that it should be buried in the Franciscan habit³, the bones must have been those of Martin, while the whole bodies were those of Innocent and Urban. Then in 1615, the remains were taken from the casket in the sacristy, by bishop Comitoli, and placed in a sarcophagus which he had himself erected. This clumsy mausoleum, surmounted by a triple-crowned, tiara, was placed against the end wall of the right transept, whence in 1730 it was transported to the right side of the great chapel which forms the left transept of the building⁴. There the bones of Innocent remained till the days of the great Pope Leo XIII, who had at one time been bishop of Perugia. He caused them to be brought to Rome, and placed them in a marble sarcophagus on which rested a recumbent figure of the Pontiff. This tomb occupies the centre of a mausoleum which Leo had caused to be made for Innocent in the basilica of St. John Lateran. The monument, designed by G. Luchetti, bears the simple inscription: "Leo XIII to Innocent III, 1891"⁵. Enclosed within a deeply recessed circular archway, the mausoleum is built round the door which leads to the sacristy, and occupies to the right of the great sanctuary arch the same position which is occupied by the mausoleum of Leo himself on its left. At the sides of the door, in niches, are symbolical figures in white marble of Wisdom and the Western Church. Above the door runs the inscription just cited, and above that again is the sarcophagus on which rests the recumbent figure of

¹ *Perugia Augusta*, p. 68.

² *La Vie du P. Martin IV.* p. 37 f. ap. *Revue de Champagne*, Jan. 1878.

³ Cf. Ciacconius *Vitae RR. PP.* I. p. 775.

⁴ Chouiller, *l. c.*

⁵ Cf. B. Labanca, *Innocenzo III ed il suo nuovo monumento in Roma*, Rome, 1892.

OF THE MIDDLE AGES

Innocent in full pontificals, slightly inclined towards the spectator. In a tympanum over the figure, our Saviour is shown between St. Francis and St. Dominic, and in the arch above it, brooding over the whole monument, are a multitude of the heavenly spirits. Even if the maiden figure of Heavenly Wisdom, and the warlike figure of the Western Church seem somewhat stunted, the monument as a whole and especially its central figure, must be pronounced elegant, and not unworthy of Innocent the Great, of Innocent, to use the words of Petrarch, "the wise and powerful".

Honorius III, who followed Innocent III, was buried in St. Mary Major's, but although Canon Biasiotti has been able to point out the exact spot where he was buried, no relic of his tomb has come down to us. The same is true of his immediate successors Gregory IX and Celestine IV, who were buried in St. Peter's. To the latter, there succeeded the energetic Innocent IV, the stern opponent of Frederick II. On his death, (1254) he was buried in the cathedral of St. Januarius at Naples, and a noble monument was erected to his memory by the Archbishop of Naples, Humbert of Montauero (1308-20) in 1318. Unfortunately most of the original monument has perished, as is at once obvious from its present patchwork condition, and from the lower inscription of Archbishop Annibale of Capua (1578-1595) which tells of his restoring the monument injured by time. Everything above the recumbent figure of Innocent is sixteenth century work, the inscriptions, and even the effective lunette which shows the Pope himself and Annibale kneeling on each side of our Lady, and which, through want of close attention to the shape of the tiara ¹, has been erroneously ascribed to such early artists as Masuccio I or II or Pietro di Stefano ². From the figure, and the altar-like sarcophagus with its inlaid mosaics on which it rests, it is clear that the monument was originally the work of the Cosmati, and resembled the tomb of Cardinal Consalvo Rodrigo in St. Mary Major's, or one of the other fourteenth century Cosmati tombs with which we are familiar in Rome ³.

*Thirteenth
century :
Honorius
III.*

*Gregory IX
and Cele-
stine IV.*

Innocent IV

¹ The tiara rounded at the top did not come into use before the sixteenth century. Cf. E. Muntz, *La tiara pontif. du VIII^e au XVI^e siècle*, Paris, 1867. The tiara even of the recumbent figure is a restoration.

² e. g., by Hare, *Cities of Southern Italy*, pp. 122-3; Perkins, *Historical Handbook of Italian Sculpture*, p. 166.

³ Cf. illustrations in L. Filippini, *La scultura nel trecento in Roma*.

Alexander IV,
Urban IV,
Martin IV.

Of the tombs of Alexander IV¹ at Viterbo, and of his successor Urban IV at Perugia not a fragment is known. But of Urban IV, and we may here add of Martin IV, it is known that their bodies were at some time united to that of Innocent III in the simple sarcophagus of which we have already spoken. If, however, we can trust Vasari, we may learn from his *Life* of Niccola and Giovanni Pisani that the latter made a marble tomb for Urban IV, but that it was afterwards destroyed together with that of Martin IV when, as Vasari says, in the fourteenth century, the Perugians enlarged the Vescovado (episcopal palace)² or, more probably either when half the cathedral itself was destroyed in 1374 to make way for a fortress³, or when the cathedral was further damaged during the popular uprising in 1375⁴. But it is the belief of Mariotti⁵ that G. Pisani made the marble tomb for Martin IV, and not for Urban IV, because the local historian Pellini, the Father of Perugian history, says that the former was buried "at the public expense", by the people of Perugia. He had died in their midst, and was much beloved by them. To this tomb belonged the small sculptures, not two feet high, of SS. Lorenzo and Costanzo now forming part of the decoration of the ambone on each side of the choir. The words of a seventeenth century historian of Perugia, C. Crispolti, reduce, we may say, these conclusions to a certainty. He tells us how the people of Perugia, impressed by the miracles wrought before his body, built a monument for Pope Martin. They set their new Mausoleum in the choir of their cathedral. But, later on, the abbot of "Mommaggiore" broke it up, because he wanted to use its marbles for the residence which he proposed to build for the Popes in the fortress of the "Monte di Porta Sole". He was unable to fulfil his intention; so some of the said marbles were used to make the two ambone ("Per-

¹ It was probably destroyed in the reconstruction of the Cathedral in 1490 Cf. C. Pinzi, *I principali monumenti di Viterbo*, p. 90.

² "Quando i Perugini aggrandirono il loro vescovado, di modo che se ne veggiono solamente alcune reliquie parse per la chiesa". The fragments which were still to be seen in Vasari's time were, we may presume, those mentioned above in the text.

³ Cf. Heywood, *A Hist. of Perugia*, p. 257 ff. quoting the *Annali Decemvirati*, an. 1376.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 260. Material (stones etc.) for fighting purposes was taken from the Church.

⁵ *Lett. pitt. perug.* p. 21., Perugia, 1788. See P. Pellini himself, *Istoria di Perugia*, Vol. I. pp. 235, 269, 296.



7. INNOCENT IV.



8. CLEMENT IV, CHURCH OF S. FRANCESCO, VITERBO.

gami" he calls them) which are still to be seen on each side of the Cathedral choir.

Crispolti also quotes a bull of Boniface VIII preserved in the Canons' chancery, ordering the body of the Pope to be transferred to another place. He further adds that, in the chest in which the bodies of the three Popes, Innocent III, Urban IV and Martin IV, were subsequently placed, he had frequently seen two bodies with mitres, chasubles of the old style, rings and the rest in a fairly good state of preservation¹.

The tombs of the successors of Urban IV († 1265) furnish us with abundant evidence of that revival of sculpture which in Italy had set in during the preceding century. Clement IV.

Throughout his life Pope Clement, a Frenchman, had had a great affection for the Dominican Order² and had expressed a desire that his corpse should rest in their church³. After the funeral service at the cathedral at Viterbo, the body of the deceased pontiff was accordingly removed with due pomp to the then new Dominican Church of Sta. Maria in Gradi. In order that a suitable tomb might be made for the late Pope, the Archbishop of Narbonne, the papal chamberlain, summoned the same "Roman citizen", the marmorarius, Pietro di Oderisio, who was called to London to make in Westminster Abbey the Cosmati tombs which to this day bear his name⁴. The monument designed by Peter consists of three parts, a basement upon which rests a somewhat smaller sarcophagus, and a canopy supported by twisted columns of marble.

A roughly sculptured figure of Clement reclines on the principal sarcophagus. At the foot on the basement, moreover, is, as we have said, another sarcophagus, on which rests the figure of the Pope's nephew, Pierre le Gros; and originally, apparently, there was also placed beneath the canopy a statue of our Lady and Child. The whole monument, bright with cubes of gold enamel and coloured marbles,

¹ *Perugia Augusta*, p. 68-9, Perugia, 1648.

² Ptolemy of Lucca, *H. E.* XXII c. 38.

³ "Qui (Clement) apud ecclesiam dictorum Prioris et Fratrum (O. P.) elegerat sepulturam", said his successor Gregory X. *Ep.* July 31 1274 ap. Ripoll., *Bullar. O. P.*, I. p. 520.

⁴ Cf. *ep.* Greg. X, *ib.* p. 525, to Richard cardinal deacon of St. Angelo: "Sua nobis" of July 31, 1274. That Peter de O. was the maker of the tomb we learn from Papebrock, *Propyl. ad mensem Maii*, p. 54. "In his time there were to be read to the right of the epitaph: Petrus Oderisii sepulchri fecit hoc opus".

is a fine example of the Roman decorative sculpture of the period.

Meanwhile, the body of the Pope was left undisturbed in the Dominican Church. But it appears that the people of Viterbo soon came to regard the late Pontiff as a saint, seeing that it was averred that miracles were wrought at his tomb, and they flocked in crowds to the Church of Sta. Maria to do him honour¹. This aroused the jealousy of the bishop of Viterbo and the Cathedral Chapter, and they began to impress upon the people and especially upon the cardinals, that the right and proper place for the body of the Pope was the Cathedral. Interested only in the election of a new Pope, and thinking to avoid trouble for the moment, the Cardinals decided that, whilst the funeral monument was being built, the body should be placed in "in their church", in as it were a neutral place². This was done, and the erection of the sepulchral monument was commenced. Some time after it had been finished, it was suddenly carried off, along with the body of the Pope, to the Cathedral, where preparations were at once made to receive it. Great was the indignation of the Friars, and equally great the annoyance of the cardinals. Accordingly, no sooner was their long conclave over, than Cardinals William of St. Mark, and Uberto of San Eustachio took cognizance of the affair, and promptly ordered the body and the tomb to be returned to the place whence they had been taken³. The authority of the Cardinals, however, proved insufficient, and the new Pope Gregory X was appealed to. He accordingly commissioned Cardinal Richard Annibaldeschi della Molera to enquire into the matter, and ultimately, to order the restitution of the body to the Friars⁴. Still the people would not submit, and another order of the Pope was necessary⁵. Even then only the letter of the Cardinal's mandate was fulfilled. The body was yielded up, but not the mausoleum, nor the balance of the monies which had been

¹ "Die 29 mensis novemb. miraculis coruscare coepit, indeque populi — ad ejus sacrum cadaver visendum, tangendum et deosculandum confluere" Papebrock, l. c. p. 54, citing the MS. of Brother Hyacinth de Nobilibus, O. P. who wrote in 1615.

² *Ib.* and the document of Nov. 23, 1271 belonging to the archives of Viterbo given in full by Pinzi, *Storia di Viterbo*, II 249, and to be cited immediately. The account of these events in C. Signorelli, *Viterbo nella storia della chiesa*, p. 255-7, Viterbo, 1908 appears to be inaccurate.

³ "Mandarunt... quod ipsi tumulum vel sepulchrum cum corpore... repone-rent.... in locum pristinum unde fuerat... transportatum": the document just cited.

⁴ This we know from Gregory's letter *Sua nobis* ap. Ripoll. I. p. 520, dated July 31 1274.

⁵ *Ib.*

OF THE MIDDLE AGES

allotted for the expenses of the burial and the monument. Two further letters of the Pope (Oct. 1. 1274) were required to settle the affair¹, and the fourth migration of the body of Clement IV gave it rest, for some centuries at least, by the side of the high altar of Sta. Maria in Gradi².

In 1738, when it was necessary to reconstruct this church, the sepulchre of Clement was placed in a little chapel, where in 1798 it was wantonly damaged by soldiers of Republican France. Some forty years later a French ambassador to the Holy See, ashamed that in Pope Clement these soldiers had not recognised a fellow-countryman, repaired the tomb, and placed an inscription upon it to make known to posterity what he had done³.

After the Italians had taken Rome in 1870, they suppressed the religious orders, and in the course of their plundering of the Church, closed to public worship "that most beautiful of the churches of Viterbo" Sta. Maria di Gradi (1874). Then, not content with leaving the tomb of Clement deserted and neglected⁴ they (in this case the municipal authorities) "scandalously violated it", says Mr. Frothingham, in the month of May, 1885⁵. Fortunately, this caused general indignation, and in the same year the government caused the body to be taken to the Church of S. Francesco, and the tomb to be restored to its primitive form, 1890, and placed where it now stands in the transept on the *gospel* side of the high altar.

Clement IV was succeeded by the saintly Gregory X, who died at Arezzo, and, according to Vasari (1547), himself a native of that

Gregory X.

¹ Ap. *ib.*, pp. 524-5.

² Cf. Antoninus, *Chron.* tit. XX. c. In 11; and Niccola Della Tuccia († 1473) *Cron.* p. 31, ed. Ciampi; *Cron. di Viterbo*, 1872. A number of excellent illustrations connected with the tombs of Clement IV and Hadrian V are given by A. Sciatolli in his *Viterbo nei suoi monumenti*, p. 291 ff. Rome, 1920.

³ "Clementis Pp. IV natione Galli anno Christiano 1268 defuncti

Titulum hunc restituendum curavit

Septimus de Fay comes de la Tour Maubourg

Francorum regis apud S. Sedem Orator.

Anno 1840".

⁴ Cf. Pinzi, *Storia*, I .255, whom we are here closely following.

⁵ Ap. "Two tombs of the Popes at Viterbo by Vasallectus and Petrus Oderisi" by A. L. Frothingham, in the *American Journal of Archæology*, 1891, p. 38 ff. Cf. Pinzi, *l. c.* and his *I principali monumenti di Viterbo*, p. 126 ff. and Cristofori.

When the tomb was opened there were found therein various fragments of silken vestments and of lace; a mitre, a ring, etc. Cf. Pinzi, *Storia*, p. 256-7. For illustrations of these objects. see the periodical *L'Arte*, 1899 p. 280 ff.

city, its commune ordered Margaritone, another native of Arezzo, to carve a marble tomb for him¹. "He set to work upon the task, and brought it to such a successful completion, introducing the Pope's portrait from life both in marble and in painting, that it was considered to be the best work which he had ever produced". Because it is Vasari who has ascribed the tomb of Gregory to Margaritone, some, for that very reason, question the accuracy of the assertion. Balcarres regards it as a "weak variation" of the tomb of Cardinal de Braye (1280) at Orvieto². A. del Vite, almost on the principle of the *Iliad*'s not having been written by Homer, but by another poet of the same name, ascribes it, if not to Margaritone, to, possibly, another local artist³, while Venturi assigns it to Agostino and Agnolo⁴. However, as it would appear that nothing conclusive has been urged against Vasari's ascription, it may, perhaps, be best to suppose that he knew something of the story of his native town, and that Margaritone was indeed the sculptor of the beautiful tomb of Gregory X which is one of the glories of the cathedral of Arezzo⁵. However that may be, and it must be admitted that most modern critics are opposed to his claim, this, to use the words of Lord Lindsay, is certain: "the Pope slumbers on his sarcophagus, elevated on three pillars — the whole overshadowed by a Gothic arched canopy supported by two lateral columns topped with pinnacles. The effigy is excellent and the drapery good. The sculptures on the sarcophagus representing (in medallions shaped like the *vesica piscis*) the Lamb carrying the cross between four apostles, half figures, precisely in the style of the Greek mosaics, at once remind one of Margaritone's original Byzantine prepossessions, and show how he had emancipated himself from the rigidity and formalism of his earlier style"⁶.

¹ *Le Opere di G. Vasari*, I. 363 ed. Milanesi; Eng. ed. (The Temple Classics) I. 68.

² *The evolution of Italian sculpture*, p. 191.

³ *Il duomo d'Arezzo*, p. 26.

⁴ *Storia dell'Arte*, IV. 392.

⁵ Lord Lindsay, *Sketches of Christian Art*. II. p. 116. ed. 1847. though regarding the tomb as quite exceptional work of Margaritone, pronounces his claim to it as "indisputable".

⁶ Formerly there were to be read the following leonine verses on Gregory's tomb:

Gregorius denus, virtutum luce serenus
Dormit in hac arca, dignus Romae patriarcha,
Quem genuit Placentia, Urbs Arretina tenet.



9. GREGORY X, THE CATHEDRAL, AREZZO.

[Facing p. 40.]



10. HADRIAN V, IN THE CHURCH OF S. FRANCESCO, VITERBO.

[Facing p. 41.

OF THE MIDDLE AGES

At any rate, by whomsoever made, the tomb is justly admired, though perhaps before 1810, when it was moved from one part of the Cathedral to another, it would appear to have been better proportioned. For it would seem that at one time the canopy over the sarcophagus must have been somewhat higher, as beneath it there was a fresco which showed the portrait of the Pope¹.

Gregory's short-lived successor, Innocent V, was buried in the Lateran, so that, after what has been said of the destruction of its monuments by fire in the fourteenth century, we need not, with the Bollandists, be astonished that not even Rasponi has a word to say about it². We know, however, that, if the orders of Charles of Anjou were carried out, Innocent V must have had a noble monument dedicated to him. As Senator of Rome, Charles commissioned his treasurer (*camerarius*) in the City to make great efforts to find for the body of the Pope a sarcophagus of porphyry or of some other beautiful stone like those in St. John Lateran's. If he failed to find such a "conca", he was to cause to be made for the late Pope a sepulchre like to that of the Countess of Arras, and if possible even more beautiful³.

Innocent V.

The name of Hadrian V has been saved from the oblivion into which the brief duration of his pontificate would naturally have consigned it, by the exceptional beauty of his tomb in the cathedral of Viterbo. The sepulchre of Hadrian, if not one of the most imposing of the pontifical mausoleums, is one of the most pleasing. In its general lines it resembles the tomb of Clement IV, and the other tombs erected by the Cosmati, in the thirteenth century, but is regarded as standing "in the front rank of the monuments of this beautiful style" and as unsurpassed in "the great taste in the combination of forms and colours" usually displayed in the Cosmati mosaic work⁴.

Hadrian V.

They are cited by C. Lazzeri. *Guglielmino degli Ubertini*, p. 186 (Florence, 1920) from Mariani, *Diario*, MS. *Riccardiana*, 3169.

¹ Almost every trace of this fresco has disappeared, Cf. Milanesi, *l. c.* n. 4.

² Rishanger, *Chron*, p. 88 Rolls Series; Rasponi, *De basilic. Lat.* p. 78 does at any rate say that he (as also Boniface VII) was buried in the Lateran "sed incertis locis" and that his tomb with that of Boniface was either destroyed by fire or transferred elsewhere.

³ Cf. Duchesne, *L. P.* II. 457 n. 2, and Charles' mandate ap. Vitale, *Senatori di Roma*, p. 152.

⁴ A. L. Frothingham, "Two tombs of the Popes at Viterbo by Vasallactus and Petrus Oderisi" pp. 39; 41 ap. *American Journal of Archæology*, 1891.

The description already given of the monument of Clement IV, and the accompanying illustration of the tomb of Hadrian render a detailed description of it unnecessary. Merely calling attention to the general superiority of its proportions over those of the monument of Clement, we would note with the author already quoted, that "the face (of the Pope) is evidently a study from nature". With regular features it displays a rather prominent aquiline nose. Altogether as a piece of sculpture the figure "ranks high in its period" ¹.

At the back of this "most glorious jewel of Italian mediaeval art" above the recumbent figure, are the arms of the Fieschi, counts of Lavagna, consisting of three bars sable running obliquely from left to right in a field argent. Beneath the arms, which were surmounted by the tiara and the cross keys, is the ancient inscription in Gothic characters: "Hic requiescit corpus sancte memorie domini Hadriani Pape V, prius vocatus Octobonus de Fiesco de Janua, tunc tit. S. Hadriani Diac. card.". Below this inscription is yet another setting forth that the descendants of the Fieschi family caused the monument to be carefully restored in the year 1715 ².

Unfortunately it is not certain who designed and executed this splendid piece of work. While Pinzi (and at one time, Frothingham) assigns it to that Vasalletus who built the cloister of St. John Lateran, Venturi has no hesitation in assigning it to Arnolfo di Cambio. The former bases his opinion on the fact that though the monument does not bear the name of Vassalletus it is found on a beautiful *Oliario* (receptacle for the Holy Oils) of white marble inlaid with the same kind of mosaic work as the tomb and placed near it in the left wall of the Sanctuary ³. Venturi's reason for assigning it to Arnolfo is based upon the similarity of the sculptures on the monument to the known work of Arnolfo. He declares, seemingly with reason, that Vasalletus was too unskilled in the human figure to have been able to carve, for instance, the faces of the two children's heads in the trefoil, one laughing and the other

¹ *Ib.*, p. 42.

² Cf. Pinzi, *Storia di Viterbo*, II. p. 355; F. Cristofori, *Le Tombe dei Papi in Viterbo*, p. 167, ff. The illustration of the monument in Cristofori is not so accurate as that given by the Bollandists, *Propyl. ad mensem Maii*, p. 381 ed. Antwerp. 1742.

³ *L. c.*, p. 335-6 "M. Vasalletus me fecit". Cf. his *I principali monumenti di Viterbo*. p. 131-2.

OF THE MIDDLE AGES

crying¹. As in a later work, Frothingham inclines to the view that the tomb was the work of Arnolfo, we may conclude that the balance of criticism is in favour of that opinion².

The sepulchral monument of John XXI of which we give an illustration from a photograph, was evidently not made till some time after his death, and was apparently not his first, as it is not his last. John XXI.

It seems that the wooden coffin which contained the body was originally put into a sarcophagus of porphyry, which was placed near the high altar of the cathedral of St. Lawrence at Viterbo³. Then, when in the sixteenth century the cathedral "was restored, or rather spoilt", the coffin was placed in the stone sarcophagus which is shown in our illustration; and which was erected at the end of the church between the middle and the left hand door. The monument was furnished with an inscription which stated wrongly that he died in 1264⁴. Finally, in 1886, the Duke of Saldanha, the Portuguese ambassador to the Holy See, not content with the simple but not undignified monument in which the body of his illustrious fellow-countryman then reposed, erected for it the present marble mausoleum in the chapel of S. Philip. When the wooden coffin was removed from the stone sarcophagus (which is now preserved at the foot of the staircase that leads to the sacristy) it was found to bear in large letters the name "Johannes XXI P. M.", and to contain at least all the larger bones intact. Enclosed in a new coffin, the remains of the body of Pope John XXI were once more laid to rest in their new monument⁵.

¹ Cf. his article, "Arnolfo di Cambio" in *L'Arte*, 1905, p. 260. He gives a number of good illustrations of different parts of the tomb.

² *The Monuments of Christian Rome*, p. 244. "The face of Hadrian", he writes, "certainly has the softness of texture and the smooth gradations that we shall find later in the authentic works of Arnolfo, though the slender proportions are quite different from his usual massive norm".

³ So says Pinzi, *La storia di Viterbo*, II. p. 345, relying on J. Cardoso, *Agiologio Lusitano*, III. p. 323, and on the local chronicler, Niccolo della Tuccia († c. 1473). *Cron. di Viterbo*, p. 32 ed. I. Ciampi, Florence, 1872.

⁴ Joannes Lusitan. XXI. Pont. Max. sui mens. VII moritur 1264.

⁵ Cf. Pinzi, *l. c.* and the documents there cited. See also the Bollandists, *Propyl. ad mensem Maii*. p. 383. In his *I principali mon. di Viterbo* p. 93 Pinzi is not so accurate as in his larger book. The following inscription which I copied from the new mausoleum proclaims the work of Saldanha.

"Qui Lusitani fuerat lux maxima regni
Exiguo jacuit conditus in tumulo
Saldanhae hunc pietas

Nicholas III.

The three short-lived Popes, Innocent V, Hadrian V and John XXI, were succeeded by the Orsini Pope, Nicholas III. "When", says Martin IV, "our predecessor, Nicholas III, had departed from this life, his body was conveyed to Rome, and with due funeral obsequies solemnly interred in the place he had selected"¹. The spot he had chosen was the chapel which he had dedicated to St. Nicholas in the basilica of St. Peter (1279) somewhere about the angle formed by the junction of the more northerly aisle of the epistle side with the north transept². Five years later (May 16, 1285) the body of Nicholas was laid to rest in the "most elegant marble"³ sepulchral monument, which had been prepared for it⁴. From the chronicler Pippinus we learn that a very long epitaph was inscribed on the tomb telling how God had been lavish in his gifts to him, having denied him no power of mind or grace of body. During the course of the destruction of old St. Peter's (1620-1) cardinal Alexander Orsini caused to be placed in one absolutely plain unpolished marble sarcophagus but in separate caskets, the remains of three members of his family-Pope Nicholas III, Rainaldo Orsini, cardinal deacon of St. Hadrian († 1374), and a still earlier cardinal Rainaldo Orsini⁵. This rude monument of which we give an illustration, bears the inscription: Nicolaus Papa Tertius Ursinus; Rainaldus card. Ursinus; Rainaldus Ursinus Sancti Hadriani Diac. Card. Hujus Basil. Vatic. Archipresb⁶.

Martin IV.
and Honori-
rius IV.

As all that requires to be said of the tomb of the French Pope Martin IV at Perugia has been said when those of Innocent III⁷

Claro locat ecce sepulchro.

Praestat pontifici, praestat et hoc patriae".

For an illustration of this latest monument see Cristofori, *Tombe dei Papi in Viterbo*, p. 321.

¹ Ep. Mart. "Incomprehensibilis", dated from Orvieto in the first year of his pontificate, ap. *Bullar. Rom.*, IV. 49, ed. Turin.

² *Alpharansus*, l. c. p. 92-3. Cf. Ptolemy of Lucca, *H. E.* l. XXIII, c. 29 ap. *R. I. SS.*, XI. p. 1181.

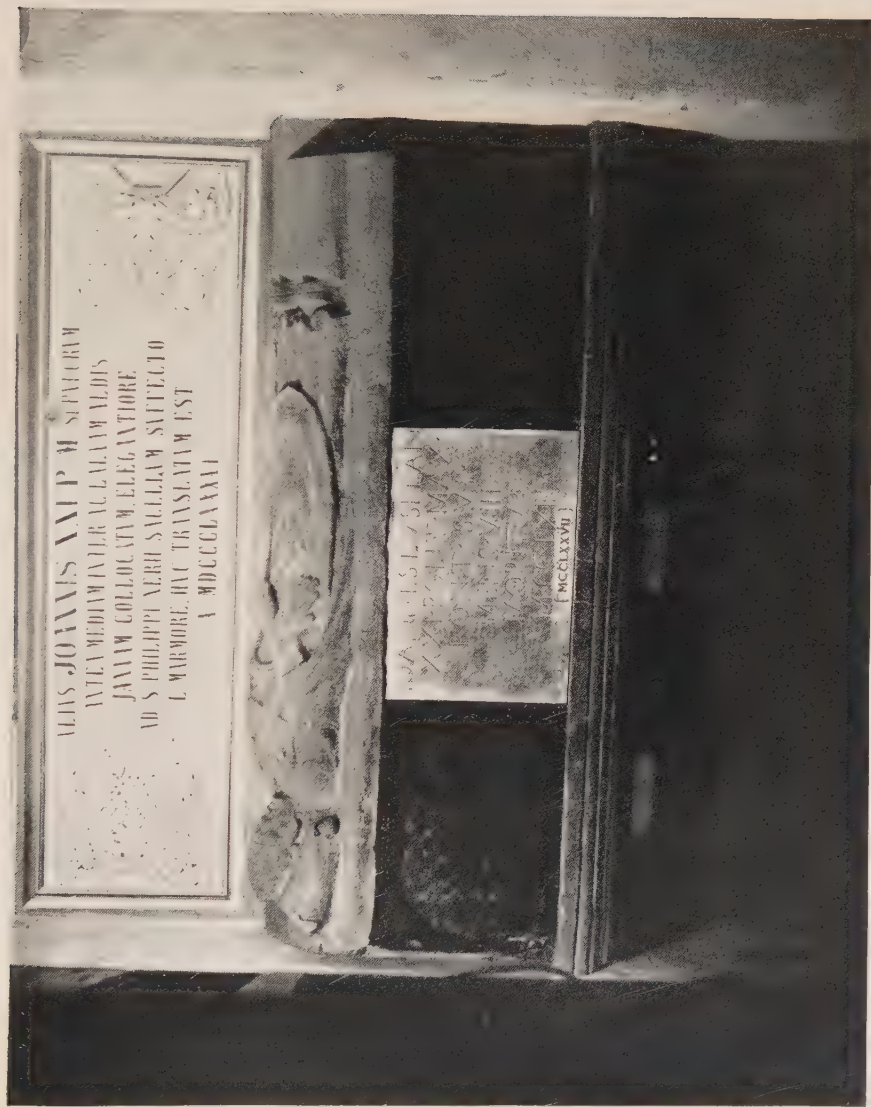
³ *Ib.* p. 192. Cf. F. Pippinus, *Chron.*, c. 12, who says that his effigy "lapide perpolito" reclined on the tomb. See also *L. P.*, II. p. 458 n.

⁴ *Ib.* and Dionysio, *Crypt. Monument.*, p. 144, Rome 1828, and the authorities there cited. The work of Dionysio was first published in 1772.

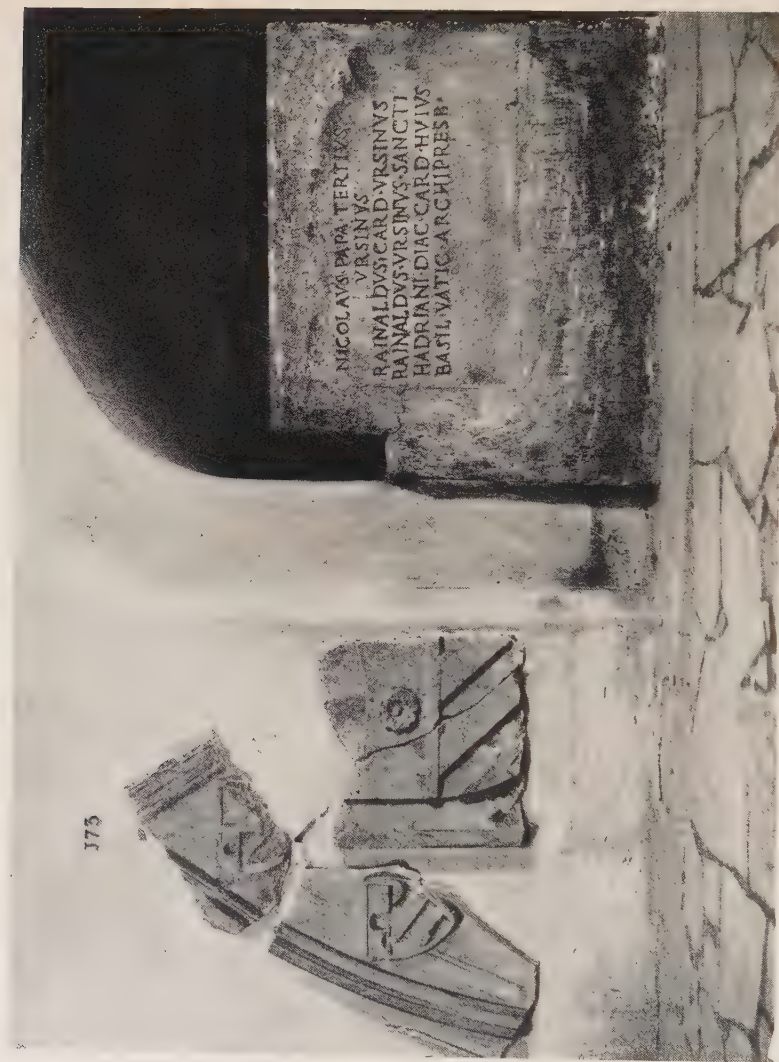
⁵ *Alph.* l. c. p. 40-1, and 93, quoting a MS. of Grimaldi (*Vat. Lat.* 6437) which was finished in June 1622. See also Dionysio, *l. c.* and Sarti's Appendix thereto, Rome, 1840 pp. 60-1, 107, and plate XVII.

⁶ By the side of the sarcophagus will be seen three stone fragments bearing the arms of the Orsini.

⁷ Cf. *supra*, pp. 33, 36. We may note that it had been the wish of Pope Martin to



11. ORIGINAL TOMB OF JOHN XXI.



12. NICHOLAS III, VATICAN GROTTO, ROME.

OF THE MIDDLE AGES

and Urban IV were discussed, the chequered story of that of Honorius IV may now claim our attention. From the church of Santa Sabina, close to the family fortress on the Aventine, where his funeral obsequies had been performed, his body was conveyed with great pomp to the basilica of St. Peter and deposited near that of Nicholas III, i. e., probably in the north transept¹. Taking it for granted that Vasari in his *Life* of Arnolfo di Cambio made a mistake in saying that that famous sculptor carved the tomb of Honorius III, we may safely assert instead that he designed and carved the marble sepulchral monument of Honorius IV². With regard to it, we are assured by Vasari that he decorated it in a better, but rather different style from that generally prevalent in Italy³.

Though, apparently, it was transferred to some other part of the basilica by Pius II, it was still to be seen in St. Peter's when Platina presented his *Lives of the Popes* to Sixtus IV. He calls attention to the family arms and to the well-merited laudatory epitaph which it bore⁴. Unfortunately, during the course of the destruction of old St. Peter's, the mausoleum was in the main destroyed; and it does not appear that a copy of it has been preserved. We are, however, helped to understand the import of Vasari's words by the fact that parts of the monument were transferred by Paul III in 1545 to the Savelli chapel in the church of our Lady of Aracoeli⁵, and can still be seen either actually existing in the said chapel or as copied in a MS. of Ciacconius in the Vatican library⁶. The part still existing in the church of Aracoeli is the

be buried in the Church of St. Francis of Assisi. (Cf. a letter of Honorius IV (Feb. I. 1286) to the people of Perugia, ap. Wadding, *Annales*, V. p. 151). Honorius was one of the executors of the will of Martin. The people of Perugia, however, did not wish to lose the body of Martin to whom they had been much attracted, and so they started to "negociate" with the Pope, and carried on the negotiations with him till he died. Some years later the body of Martin was found intact, clad in the Franciscan habit in which he had been buried.

¹ Ptolemy of Lucca, *H. E.* t. XXIV c. 19 p. 1194; Alphar. *De basilicae Vat. ant. et nova structura* p. 192; cf. ib. pp. 74-5, 93.

² Cf. Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte*. IV 121, but especially Vasari's own corrections of his *Life* of Arnolfo in the ed. of Vasari published by Frey p. 476, Munich, 1911. See also Venturi in the periodical *L'Arte*, 1905. p. 264.

³ He was buried "in arca multum pulchra" says *Mem. Pot. Reg.*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, VIII. p. 1168.

⁴ *In vit. Hon. IV*, p. 254 in Vol. pt. I of the new ed. of *R. I. SS.* Sepulchrum "quod adhuc extat in numerum a Pio (II) pontifice translatum".

⁵ *Propyl. ad acta SS.*, p. 322, ed. Antwerp 1742.

⁶ *Cod. Vat. Lat.* 5407.

recumbent figure of the pontiff. It rests on the sarcophagus of his mother Vana Aldobrandini, which, adorned in the style of the Cosmati, bears the arms of her family between those of the Savelli.

As appears from the design of her monument by Gualdo, given in Ciacconius¹, the monument of Vana Aldobrandini was originally, as usual with the Cosmati tombs, surmounted by a Gothic trefoil arch. It was in 1735, when the chapel of St. Francis (that of the Savelli) was much damaged by being transformed and consecrated to St. Rose of Viterbo, that this arch was destroyed². It was subsequently replaced by the existing flat canopy.

Owing to his not having carefully examined the notes which accompany the design of Gualdo, even Venturi³ has fallen into several errors. First he supposes that the design shows the original tomb which Arnolfo made for Honorius IV. It shows instead the original form of his mother's tomb. He adds that there were three medallions below the three curves of the Gothic trefoil arch over the sarcophagus, one showing a crown of thorns, the second an image of St. Peter, the third that of the deceased Pontiff. "These medallions with Gothic legends... are a new proof of Arnolfo's skill in adapting the antique to the Gothic". As a matter of fact these three medallions have nothing whatever to do with any sepulchral monument. From Gualdo's own note at the side of his design, it appears that they are simply copies of two (?) bronze medals from his collection, which he inserted merely to show them, and to fill up the back of the monument. His note runs: "Vetus Honorii aeneum nomisma ex museo Equitis Gualdi". In both cases the obverse bears the legend: "Honorius IV Pont. Max."; the reverse of one has: "S. Petrus clurgs (*Clavigericus*) regni coelorum", that of the other shows, not a crown of thorns, but a garland of wheat: "Et vite mortisque comes", as though the Pope wished to say that he desired only a crown of good works which benefit the quick and the dead. We may add that garlands of wheat were not unfrequently used in ancient times. A "crown of corn-ears" used to

¹ *Vit. Pont. Rom.*, II. p. 251, Rome, 1677. The design was made by Gualdo of Rimini a Knight of St. Stephen.

² Cf. T. Casimiro, *Memorie della chiesa di S. Maria in Aracoeli*, Rome, 1736. G. Clausse, in his not too accurate *Les Marbriers Romains*, p. 300, cites a French ed. seemingly of Casimiro, *Hist. de la Basilique de Sta. Maria in Ara Coeli*, p. 109.

³ *Storia dell'Arte*, IV. p. 131 ff.

OF THE MIDDLE AGES

be given in imperial times at Naples for the cultivation of Greek poetry ¹.

But it is the Vatican Codex 5407 that really enables us to form an idea of what was the original design of the tomb of Honorius IV, and to see in what respect it differed from the then prevalent style in Italy. In that MS., Ciacconius gives us a copy of an upright marble figure of Honorius. It shows the Pope clad in the usual papal robes of the period reading from a book, and, when copied by the antiquarian, it stood over the tomb ^{1a}. Evidently the monument was exceptional in having a recumbent figure on the sarcophagus and a standing figure above, and must have resembled, without being so elaborate, the splendid mausoleum of Robert the Wise in St. Clare's at Naples (1343) ². The extant recumbent figure of Honorius shows that as so very frequently was the case in these Cosmati tombs, there were angels at his head and feet drawing back curtains.

Immediately on entering the basilica of St. Mary Major by the main door one sees on one's left a monument to Nicholas IV. Its style is abundantly sufficient to show that it did not see the light in the same age as the Pope to whom it is dedicated; and in fact it is known to have been designed by Domenico Fontana (1543-1607) to the order of the cardinal of Montalto, afterwards Sixtus V. Aided by the sculptor, Leonardo da Sarzana, who carved the figures, (1574) Fontana has left us a piece of work effective in proportion to its simplicity. The centre of the mausoleum is taken up by the seated figure of the Pope stretching out his hand, not in the act of benediction ³, but in the act of gracious invitation to approach him. Allegorical figures of Justice and Religion stand on either side of the Pontiff, whose arms appear at the top of the tomb, while those of the cardinal are at the bottom ⁴.

¹ Suetonius: *Claud.* c. 11, and Statius, *Silvae lib. V* c. 3 v. 225 ff. "Cerealia dona coronae".

^{1a} At the bottom of his copy Ciacconius wrote: "Ex ejus marmorica statua quae supra ipsius sepulchrum extabat proprio ejus familiae sacello ad S. Mariam de Ara Coeli." p. 109.

² Cf. Tav. 24 in G. Ferrari, *La tomba nell'Arte Italiana*. In this monument by Pacio and Giovanni da Firenze there is a seated figure of the king above a recumbent one.

³ As stated by Gregorovius, *Tombs of the Popes*, p. 55.

⁴ The following inscription at the base of the monument records the work of the cardinal:

The original sepulchral monument of Nicholas was much less striking. It was an ornamental slab on the ground, and was at first in the same aisle indeed, but in that one of the four Colonna chapels which was at the north-west angle of the basilica, near a small door which, known as the *porta reginae*, opened towards the church of S. Pudentiana¹. Hence Platina says it was to be seen in the pavement at the head of the basilica near the sepulchre of cardinal Peter Colonna, "and was to be known by the arms which it bore, and by the porphyry with which it was decorated"². Cardinal Sirlet also, besides telling us of the original burial place of Nicholas, preserved his epitaph³ which set forth that this son of St. Francis, who, when Pope, had restored the Church of St. Mary Major, had, when dying, ordered that his bones should remain in a lowly tomb.

But the Franciscans were naturally proud of their learned and distinguished brother, and when, during some levelling operations in the left of the transept in which the body of Nicholas had first been buried, the said body was found "in an antique urn bearing his name and title", (1572)⁴ the Franciscan cardinal who afterwards became

"Nicholas IV Asculano Piceno
Pont. Max, cum in neglecto diu
Sepulchro fere latuisset,
Fr. Felix Perettus, Cardinalis de Monte Alto
In ordinem et patriam pietate posuit.
MDLXXIV.

The cardinal erected the monument "in Ordinem et Patriam", because both Nicholas and he himself were members of the Franciscan Order and both natives of Piceno. The eulogistic inscription to Nicholas IV which he placed below the above is of no importance, and so we do not give it.

¹ Duchesne, *Lib. Pont.* II. p. 467; and the Bollandists, *Propyl. ad mens. Maii*, p. 389; and especially P. de Angelis, *infra*.

² *In vit. Nic. IV*, p. 257 of Vol. III. pt. II of the new ed. of R. I. SS.

³ "Hic tumulus tumulat humilem, qui fascibus auctus

Sic moriens statuit ossa manere sua.

Hunc Franciscus alit, Cardo ut fit almaque Petri

Sedes magnificat: gratia diva beat.

Quartus Papa fuit Nicolaus, Virginis aedem

Hanc lapsam reficit, fitque vetusta, nova.

Petrus Apostolicus socium Franciscus alumnus

Protegat, Omnipotens, Matre rogante beet".

The above, with unimportant variations, is given from Sirlet in P. de Angelis, *Basilica S. M. Majoris*, p. 158, Rome. 1621; the Bollandists, *l. c.*; Pagi, in *vit. N. IV, III* p. 407; Etc. The last four lines were also placed below the mosaic of the apse.

⁴ "Et inibi humatum repertum fuerit corpus felicitis et s. recordationis Nicolai IV Pont. Max. existens in quadam antiqua urna cum sui moninis inscriptione et titulo". See the capitular grant in De Angelis bearing the date Jan. 3 1573.



14. BONIFACE VIII, FROM THE VATICAN GROTTO, ROME.

OF THE MIDDLE AGES

the famous Pope Sixtus V at once interested himself in the discovery.

Not content with the unpretentious slab which had originally covered the remains of Nicholas, he caused Fontana to design the mausoleum of which we have spoken. This, with the permission of the canons of the basilica, he placed in the original chapel of the Blessed Sacrament which had been built by cardinal Estouteville at the end of the nave on the left near the high altar ¹.

Sometime toward the close of the seventeenth century there commenced a cult of Nicholas IV. Pope Benedict XIV, who dealt very summarily with the said cult, shows that at least it had no official recognition even in the pontificate of Clement X (1670-6). The learned pontiff declares that the advocates of the cult of Nicholas based it to a large extent on the fact that in a case of relics of Saints belonging to the Canons of St. Mary Major's there were found relics of Nicholas IV in a wrapper bearing the inscription: "De P. Nicolao Discepolo di S. Francesco". In that wrapper were two others, one containing pieces of dress material with the inscription: "Delle vestimenta di S. Nicolo Papa che fu discepolo di S. Francesco"; and the other, fragments of bones with the inscription: "Le ossa di S. Nicolo Papa che fu etc". But, as Benedict argued, no-one knew who had written the inscriptions, and hence they were of no value. He suggests that the relics were possibly placed in the case at the time of the translation of the body in the days of Sixtus V ². After refuting other weak arguments adduced in behalf of the cult, Benedict concluded by forbidding the said relics to be exposed in any way for public veneration (Oct. 24, 1750). Finally this same distinguished Pontiff transferred the monument of Nicholas IV to its present site.

After a long vacancy, Nicholas IV was succeeded by the hermit, *Celestine V.* Peter Morrone, who, finding that both his inclinations and his previous mode of life unfitted him for the responsibilities of the Papacy, resigned his high office after a few months. He died not long after (19 May 1296) in the Castle of Monte Fumone, where his successor Boniface VIII had confined him. The body of the ex-Pope was buried in a very simple manner behind the altar in the

¹ *Ib.*

² Cf. Bened. XIV, *De beatificatione*, vol. VI. p. 186 ff., Prati, 1842. Among the other arguments used by the Pope to show that the cult had no kind of official recognition was the fact that from a bull of Boniface VIII it was clear that prayers were asked for Nicholas IV as for other faithful departed who were not saints. *Ib.* nn. 10-12.

church of St. Anthony, which belonged to the Order he had founded, and which was situated near Ferentino¹. Proud of the possession of the body of a saint, the people of Ferentino were afraid lest it might be stolen from them, and watched it, we are told, day and night². However, after thirty years, their watchfulness was overcome after they had, on account of a siege, transferred the body for greater safety to the Church of St. Agatha within their city-walls (1326). Accordingly, two Celestine friars succeeded in stealing the body, and in bringing it to Aquila, Jan. 27, 1327. "For", says a local poet addressing the saint, "you always wished to return to Aquila on account of the great love you always bore it"³. The relics of the saint were deposited at the end of the left aisle in the Church of S. Maria de Collemagio "wherein he had been anointed and crowned"⁴, and for twenty days the citizens held high festival. In the religious functions we are assured that "it was believed that more than a hundred thousand persons took part", Febr. 1326⁵.

The body of the Saint in a silver chest was enclosed in a marble mausoleum of which the Bollandists were the first to give an illustration⁶. According to them, the back and front of the monument are alike, except that whereas in the front there is a seated figure of our Lady with her Child between the saint and St. Benedict, in the back there is a figure of our Lord between SS. Maurus and Scholastica. Below the two groups are doors of ornamental work which can be opened when for any reason it is desired to move or examine the chest. Evidently, from illustrations which we have seen, the mausoleum

¹ Ptolemy of Lucca, *H. E.* XXIV c. 34; G. Villani, VIII 7, avers that the body was put 10 cubits under the ground so that it might not be found; but as in lib. X c. 88 he tells us how "it was reverently carried" to the City of Aquila some thirty years later we may presume that it really cannot have been very inaccessible.

² "Quilli de Fiorentin avian timore.

Che llo tuo corpo no fosse furatu" *Laude Aquilane. ap. Cod. Vit. Em.* 349 della Bib. Nazional. di Roma, c. 72 cited in the notes (p. 65) to the ed. of Buccio di Ranallo, *Cron. Aquil.* by V. de Bartholomaeis.

³ *Ib.* The poet tells us who the pious thieves were:

Frà Yacobo de Rogi era chiamatu
Et uno Selmontino te furaro".

Cf. *Hist. trans.*, p. 435 f., which says that the people of Aquila had in vain tried to buy the body. ⁴ *Hist. tr., ib.*

⁵ *Ib.* Cf. Buccio di Ranallo, *Cron. Aquil.* p. 65.

Tucte le terre de intorno vennero senza fallio
Con compagnia ad jocarenci et fare festa et ballio,
Como reconta et dice *Buccio de Ranallio*".

⁶ *Propyl. ad mens. Maii.*, p. 391.

has in the course of centuries lost many of its statues, and equally evidently it was not made in the century in which the body of the saint was brought to Aquila. It is in fact work of the sixteenth century, and is highly praised by V. Bindi¹. From him we learn that the tomb of Parian marble, made at the expense of the guild of wool-workers, is remarkable for its grotesque figures and capricious intaglios, executed with the most finished delicacy; and from the inscription cited by him, that the body of the Saint was placed in that tomb on Aug. 27, 1517, whilst Brother Maturinus was prior.

In due course (11 Oct. 1303) the lowly hermit was followed to the grave by the lordly Benedict Gaetani, Boniface VIII, but he was given a tomb not in the Abruzzi but in Rome. Boniface VIII.

At the south-east angle of the nave of old St. Peter's, or, describing the situation somewhat differently, at the left angle of the nave near the Ravenna door, there had long stood an altar dedicated to St. Boniface, the martyr. Close to it in the adjoining aisle there was in the days of Boniface VIII the tomb of his predecessor St. Boniface IV Pope († 615) from whom he had taken his name². Transferring the remains of his namesake in the pontificate, Boniface VIII placed them beneath the altar of the martyr Boniface, and employed Arnolfo di Cambio to raise a canopy over the altar, and to prepare a tomb for him at the back of it. The distinguished sculptor accordingly erected a Gothic canopy on four slender columns of Parian marble, and above and at the back of the altar he so placed the tomb for the Pope that it was immediately before the eyes of the priest who said Mass at the altar. The sarcophagus displayed the arms of the Gaetani family, and the recumbent figure of the Pope rested on the funeral pall that was draped over the tomb. Angels at his head and feet looked down upon him. Above the sarcophagus was a mosaic attributed to Jacopo Torriti³, showing a half-figure of our Lady

¹ *Monumenti storici ed Artistici degli Abruzzi*, Naples, 1889. See his plates nn. 156-7. Among the inscriptions on the monument we have:

"Opus magistri Hyeronimi Vincentini Sculptoris".

² Cf. Alpharanus, *Be basilic. Vat.* pp. 65, and 70. It is not certain when the body of St. Boniface IV was transferred from the portico into the basilica itself. Cf. Alph. *ib.* p. 66 n.; and Sarti and Settele, *Ad P. L. Dionysii opus de Vat. crypt.* Append. p. 25, Rome, 1840. From a note of Grimaldi (*Cod. Vat. Lat.* 6437 f. 200) some think that the translation took place under Callistus II, and others, from the style of the lettering of the inscription that records the fact of the translation, would assign it to the tenth century.

³ By Grimaldi, *Cod. Barb. Lat.* 2733 f. I v.

"Pinxit vermiculato opere Jacobus Torriti, ut in libro picturarum in hac basi-



16. BENEDICT XI—A DETAIL.

OF THE MIDDLE AGES

is here given, we need say no more than that it is the most perfect in the crypt¹. We may, however, note that it is not seen to-day as it left the hands of the workmen in 1605. They had put the cover of the tomb on which rested the figure of the Pope the wrong way round². This mistake was righted in 1835 when the tomb was reopened, and the body of the Pope found to be reduced to a skeleton³.

Benedict XI, the successor of Boniface VIII, though buried in the Church of the Dominicans at Perugia "with great honour", according to the expression of Villani⁴, was like his Franciscan predecessor Nicholas IV, at first deposited in a very simple tomb⁵. However, as also in the case of Nicholas, on the report of miracles worked by his intercession⁶, his friends and admirers, chief of whom was cardinal Nicholas di Prato, determined to honour his mortal remains by enclosing them in a splendid sepulchre. According then to the story of Vasari, Giovanni Pisano was commissioned to make a tomb of marble. This he did "placing the Pope's effigy, taken from life, and in his pontifical vestments, upon the sarcophagus with two angels holding a curtain, one on either side, and our Lady above between two saints, executed in relief, as well as many other ornaments carved on the tomb"⁷. The Gothic canopy was supported by twisted columns, the volutes of which were once filled with mosaics in the usual Cosmati style. Most of these have now disappeared, as also have all but small fragments of the little angelic figures which once adorned them⁸.

Benedict XI.

was drawn up to record the incorrupt state in which the Pope's body was found, and the reburial of his body.

¹ Note the contradictions of Gregorovius, *Tombs of the Popes*, pp. 58-60. Cf. Cardinal Wiseman, "Pope Boniface VIII" p. 529 f. in his *Essays on Various Subjects*, London 1888.

² See plate 49 in *Dionysio Crypt. Vat.*

³ Sarti and Settele, in their appendix to the above work, p. 100 f.

⁴ *Chron.* VIII. c. 80.

⁵ Raynaldus, *Annales*, 1304, n. 35.

⁶ Cf. S. Antoninus, *Chron.* tit. 23, c. XI. p. 678, ed. Lyons, 1587.

⁷ *In vit. N. e G. Pisani*, Eng. trans. I. p. 49 (Temple Classics).

⁸ The soldiers of Napoleon are credited with picking out the mosaics, and with destroying the little figures. Cf. *The Story of Perugia*, p. 167, by Marg. Simmons, and Lina Duff Gordon. But, as far as the figures are concerned, we know that they were missing as far back as 1682. Cf. the Bollandists, *Propyl. ad mens. Maii*, p. 395. It was then noted that: "intra excavatarum turbinatim columnarum volutas cerni vestigia figurinarum Angelicarum,... ipsas plerasque furto sublatas esse".

Cicognara¹ and art critics generally have accepted without question Vasari's statement as to the sculptor of this really lovely monument. Venturi² however, is very positive that it is the work of Lorenzo Maitani (b. c. 1275) and his followers, and was executed between the years 1319 and 1325. As we are utterly unable to resolve such differences of opinion, we can only say that it is perhaps wiser to accept the authority of Vasari until something more substantial can be adduced against it than the solitary opinion of a critic however eminent.

When the papal biographers³ tell us that Benedict was buried "before the high altar" we presume that they refer to the existing mausoleum⁴, which, in any case, was transferred to its present site in the left transept of the new Church of St. Dominic in the year 1700⁵.

Clement V.

The first of the Avignon Popes, the weak Clement V, willed that his body should be buried in the church at Uzeste; but it would appear from the epitaph on his tomb that it was not ready to receive his body till 1359, some fifty years after his death.

With a view to carrying out his uncle's last wishes, the viscount of Lomagne determined to erect to him a mausoleum which should be a lasting proof of his devotion to him. He entrusted the making of it to a certain Jehan de Bonneval, who is described as: "marchand et bourgeois orfèvre, demeurant à Orléans"⁶. Jehan proved very dilatory, or worse, and by 1321 the viscount had already expended the equivalent of 546,792 francs of modern (1899) French money⁷. Nevertheless more money had to be expended on it by the viscount himself, († 1325) by his heir, cardinal Gaillard de la Motte, and again

¹ *Storia della Scultura*, Vol. II. p. 159, Prato, 1823.

² *Storia dell'Arte*, vol. IV pp. 354-9.

³ Amalric. ap. *R. I. SS.* III pt. II p. 441. Cf. Bernardus Guidonis, *ib.* pt. I.

⁴ Because the contemporary historian, Vincentius Ferretus, referring to the first burial of the body and so indirectly to the first tombstone, says the corpse: "post aram tabernaculi in sanctuario obrutum subhumavere". Cf. the new ed. of C. Cipolla, I. p. 175.

⁵ Lupatelli, in his pamphlet (Rome 1903) *Benedetto XI, Suo monumento sepolcrale*, p. 10. The monument has undergone restoration. See Funke, *P. Benedikt*, p. 130. Balcarres, *The Evolution of Italian Sculpture*, p. 192, regards it as "one of the finest examples of the projecting niche tomb" and E. Hutton, *The Cities of Umbria*, as "one of the most interesting things in Perugia."

⁶ Cf. De Laurière et Müntz, *Le Tombeau de Clément V*, Paris 1888.

⁷ Brun, see below. p. 122.

OF THE MIDDLE AGES

by the heirs of the latter. Unfortunately we do not know exactly the design of the mausoleum as it appeared in the year of its final conclusion (1359). But we can form some idea of its form and magnificence from the existing remains of it, and from short notices of it to be found in Ciacconius ¹ and others.

The body of the tomb was of black marble from the Low Countries, and was originally decorated with ornaments of alabaster on each of its four sides, and was flanked at each of its two ends with four little columns of jasper. The figure of the Pope in white marble, lying stretched out at full length, rested on top of the rectangular sarcophagus on a slab also of black marble. The head of the figure rested on an embroidered cushion, the feet on a griffin. The pontifical vestments were finely embroidered, and covered with gold. Their folds, moreover, were elegant, and precious stones adorned the gloves and the tiara. With the exception of the face and hair, the figure was painted a reddish brown, of which traces still remain. In the tomb, with the Pope's body, were placed some vessels of silver filled with aromatic spices, and over it was erected, or was designed to be erected, a beautifully chased casket of gold and silver which cost the viscount of Lomagne 50,000 florins of gold ². Unfortunately this splendid mausoleum was violated by the Huguenots in 1572 both within and without. Not only was the head of the figure so injured that it is now impossible to recognise the features, and not only were the precious stones all extracted from the figure of the Pope, but the tomb was hopelessly disfigured, the coffin was broken open, the silver vessels seized, and the bones of the Pope tossed into a fire. When the sacrilegious plunderers departed, the canons of the church reverently collected what remains of the bones they could find, and replaced them in the tomb which they put together again as best they could. In 1805 the tomb, by that time in a dilapidated state, was removed from its place in front of the altar, and with little care put against the wall of the south aisle. However, in 1897 it was once more carefully replaced in the nave, but behind, not in front of, the altar.

So far nothing appears to have been attempted in the way of restoring the portions of the mausoleum which were destroyed by the Huguenots.

¹ *Vitae Rom. Pont.*, I. p. 843.

² Brun, *l. c.* Ninety-six florins went to the pound of gold.

In characters of the period Clement's epitaph was engraved on the edge of the slab which supported his sculptured figure. It sets forth that within lies the body of Clement V, the founder of the collegiate churches of Uzeste and Villandraut, who died at Roque-maure Apr. 20, 1314, in the ninth year of his pontificate. Brought to the church of St. Mary of Uzeste in the following August, the body of this most unfortunate Pontiff was buried in 1359¹.

John XXII.

The energetic and vivacious John XXII, the second French Avignon Pope, was buried in the chapel of St. Joseph in the cathedral at Avignon, and a monument of considerable size, which served as a type for the tombs of all the Popes of this period who died in France, was erected to his memory. In its Gothic style it inaugurated a new type of mausoleum, one that resembled a Gothic shrine or a Gothic cathedral in miniature — a type of the style which sneering Renaissance opponents spoke of as "without taste", and which produced buildings with a thousand points "like quills upon a fretful porcupine"².

Unfortunately John's mausoleum, in stone from Pernes which is as white as alabaster, has reached us in a very mutilated condition. Already in 1732 it was reported to be in a ruinous state³ which, no doubt, was not improved when in 1759 for the reasons that it was no longer safe, that it interfered with the easy access of the canons to the chapel, and that because of its great height it made the chapel dark, it was removed from its original site, and placed against the wall⁴. It was further injured in the revolution of 1793, and after a translation to the chapel of St. Martha, was in 1840 finally replaced in the middle of the chapel of St. Joseph. One is therefore prepared to find that it does not now present the regular appearance that it had when the Bollandists issued their illustration of it, rough

¹ *Vitae RR. PP.* I. p. 843. Cf. Müntz: "Les tombeaux des Papes en France" ap. *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1887. p. 277-8, and Ern. Steinman: "Die Zerstörung der Grabdenkmäler der Päpste von Avignon" in *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, Leipzig, 1918, p. 145 ff.; E. Brun, *Uzeste et Clement V*, p. 113 ff., Bordeaux, 1899.

² Cf. the opinion of L. B. Alberti *Cronica del sec. XV*, Ital. trans., ed. A. Hagen, p. 29-30 ed. Florence, 1843 "L'Arte da quei Goti senza gusto! Qual nausea non mi sveglia un edificio con le sue migliaia di punte, per cui sembra un procospino rannicchiato".

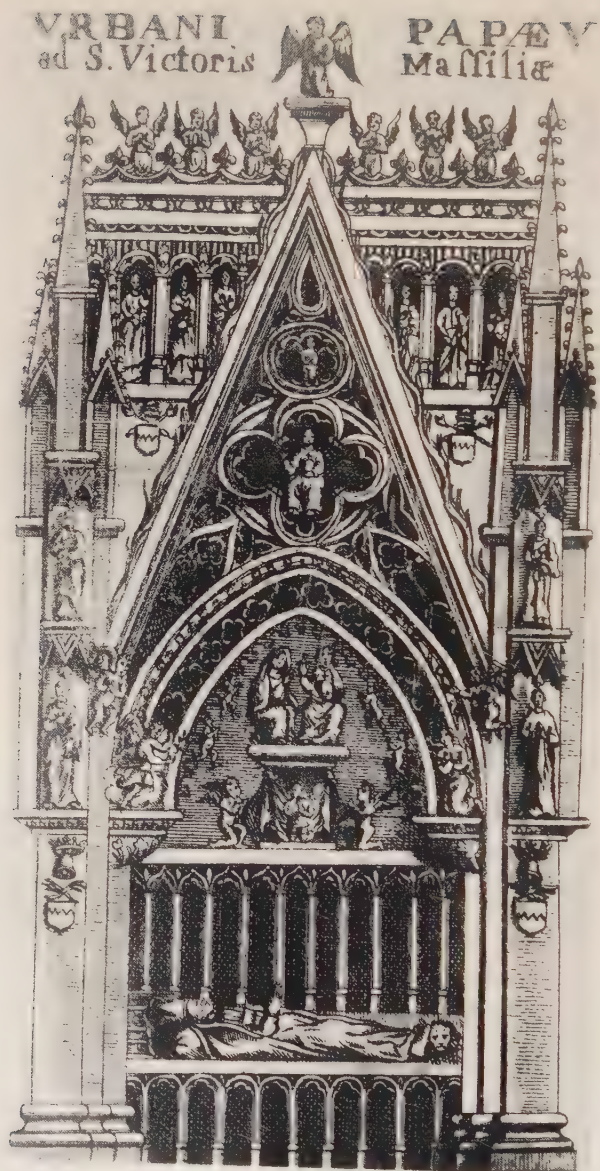
³ Müntz, "Les tombeaux des Papes en France", p. 280 n. ap. *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1887, p. 275 ff.

⁴ Cf. the original document regarding this transfer in L. Duhamel, *Le tombeau de Jean XXII à Avignon*, p. 9, ff., Avignon, 1887.



17. JOHN XXII.

Facing p. 56.



18. MAUSOLEUM OF URBAN V, ONCE AT
MARSEILLES.

[Facing p. 57.]

as it was. To-day some of its pinnacles are wanting, all its niches are damaged, and the whole monument is the worse for restorations. The whole of the sixty marble statuettes that once adorned it are missing, and different places in Avignon boast the possession of some of them ¹. Even the figure of John himself was tampered with. As in the case of the head of the statue of Clement V at Bordeaux, the original head of the figure has been replaced by another — in this case by the mitred head of a bishop ². Müntz has pointed out in connection with it that extant sketches show that the original head was surmounted by a tiara with two crowns, whereas the existing head has a mitre ³. Although it is contended with some justice that, as the tomb itself is only five feet from the ground, while the somewhat massive canopy above it rises to a height of some forty-five feet, the monument is top-heavy ⁴, still it cannot be denied that even in its present mutilated state, it is imposing, and makes a favourable impression upon the beholder.

The vicissitudes of the tomb of John XXII were more than Benedict XII matched by those of the monument of his successor Benedict XII which, in style and height, is said originally to have much resembled that of John ⁵. In the case of the mausoleum of Benedict which is now to be seen in the Cathedral of Avignon, but which does not stand on the site of the original monument of Jean Lavenier, neither the figure of the Pope nor the rest of the monument around it is original. Fortunately the design of the original mausoleum is fairly well-known to us from the engraving of it published by the Bollandists ⁶; and from the few remains of it still preserved in the Musée Calvet at Avignon, it would seem that their engraving is sufficiently accurate. From other data furnished us by the Bol-

¹ Müntz, *l. c.* p. 284-5; R. Brun, *Avignon au temps des Papes*, p. 134, Paris, 1928.

² Duhamel, *l. c.* p. 22 where items of expense are given for "le remplacement de la tête et d'une partie du buste d'une figure... attribuée à Jean XXII".

³ *L. c.*, p. 283-4.

⁴ Balcarres, *Evolution of Italian Sculpture*, p. 210. I am, however, at a loss to know whence this author gets his figures. Those given by the Bollandists and others (35½ palms) do not bring the height to 27 feet. It is some years since I saw the monument, but I feel sure it was nothing like forty-five feet high.

⁵ The statement is made by, among others, an eighteenth century canon, de Veras, or Deveras (MS. B. of the Avignon Library). But if the dimensions and the illustrations given by the Bollandists are of the original work, then it was only half the height of that of John, and not in the least like it.

⁶ *Propyl. ad Mens. Maii*, p. 85.

landists, we find that the monument was some thirteen and a half feet high, eight and a quarter long, and over four feet broad¹. It was erected in the cathedral of Avignon in the fourth chapel to the left and was the work of the "ymaginator" John "Lavenier", or "of Paris", as he is called in the papal account books, whence we see that "the contract price" for the work was six hundred gold florins, and that he actually received six hundred and fifty one².

Some three hundred and fifty years after the payment of this money (in 1689) the canopy over the tomb was taken down, as it was feared that it would fall; and, if the design furnished us by the Bollandists is a real guide to it, its destruction cannot be said, from an artistic point of view, to have been any great loss. Devoid of elevation, it did not present any attractive features. In 1732 we learn that for the sake of preserving the white marble life-size statue of the Pope, it was found necessary to renew the remaining part of the mausoleum³. The statue showed the Pope wearing his pontifical vestments along with the pallium, and a tiara with three crowns. The work of destruction continued. In 1765 the monument, such as it then was, stood in the cathedral in the chapel of the guild or fraternity of the tailors on the left. At their request, all that was left of the monument of Benedict was removed that the members of their confraternity might be buried in their chapel. History has even preserved the name of the first tailor whose body took the place of that of the Pope! After that, it was perhaps as well that the monument of Benedict should disappear for ever. At any rate, the recumbent figure was destroyed during the great Revolution. The mausoleum which is now shown as that of Benedict — the one against the north wall of the Lady Chapel — was that of cardinal Jean de Cros, and the statue of the Pope was only carved in the nineteenth century by a sculptor named Casimir Poitevin⁴.

¹ On account of the divergencies as to the dimensions of the tombs of John XXII and Benedict previously mentioned, we give those of both of them from the Bollandists; that of John XXII was 35½ palms high (the palm was 9 inches) 13 long, 6 broad. That of Benedict was 18 palms high, 11 long, and 5½ broad.

² Cf. an entry of Oct. 10. 1345, cited by Müntz., *l. c.* p. 374. From other entries of payments in the *Cameralia* it is clear that the tomb was commenced immediately after the Pope's death. Cf. Faucon, "Les arts à la cour d'Avignon", ap. *Mélanges d'archéol.*, 1884 p. 100.

³ Cf. the communication made by the bishop of Halicarnassus (de la Baume) to the Florentine Vettori (*Il fiorino d'oro* Florence, 1728 p. 35-6.) ap. Müntz, *l. c.* p. 371.

⁴ L. Duhamel, *Le tombeau de Benoît XII à Avignon*, 25-7, Caen, 1889,

The tomb too of the "magnificent" Clement VI (1342-52) has also been shamefully mutilated in the course of the centuries, especially by the Calvinists in the course of the wars of religion (1562). It was during his life-time that Clement caused the mausoleum to be erected in the middle of the choir of the monks of Chaise-Dieu where he had once lived as a monk himself ¹. Clement VI.

After his death his body was at first taken to the Cathedral; but a few months later it was transferred to the tomb he had erected at Chaise-Dieu (Apr. 1353) ². Before the year 1562 the sarcophagus of black marble upon which rested a recumbent figure of the Pope, also mutilated in that year, was surmounted by a canopy which carried forty-four statuettes. Apart from the figures of the priest and two other ecclesiastics giving the absolutions, those of the cardinals, bishops, and lay nobles, both men and women, which brought up the number of the statuettes to forty-four, all represented members of the Beaufort family to which the Pope belonged. The monument is now reduced to the restored figure of the Pope resting on a slab of black marble on the top of the sarcophagus ³. One can only deeply regret the mutilation of Clement's mausoleum, which, made at Villeneuve under the direction of Pierre de Roye, is described by one of the Pope's biographers as "most precious and elegant" ⁴. As to its "preciousness" there can be no doubt, for it cost the enormous sum of three thousand eight hundred golden florins ⁵.

The recumbent figure of the Pope, rather larger than life-size, is

Müntz, *l. c.* p. 371-3; and the note of canon Fuzet in *Revue de l'Art chrétien*, 1884 p. 175. The procès-verbal of the opening of the tomb on Oct. 21, 1765 is printed by Duhamel, *l. c.* 15 f. On the Avignon Popes the work of Gregorovius is useless.

¹ Cf. the Bollandists, *l. c.* p. 89. A Hallays gives an illustration of a fragment of his (?) tomb in the Musée Calvet (*Les villes d'art célèbres*, Avignon, p. 182, Paris 1909.) Clement was much attached to his *alma mater*, bestowed many favours on it (Baluze, *Vitae PP. Avig.*, pp. 258; 272; 288; 310 ed. Mollat) and gave it large sums of money for its abbey church. Cf. in the Vatican archives, *Reg. camer.*, n. 228. See Faucon, *l. c.* p. 388 ff. In eight years he gave 25000 florins which Faucon estimated in his day at 1,875,000 francs.

² Cf. E. Deprez, "Les funérailles de Clement VI et d'Innocent VI" ap. *Mélanges d'Archéol.* 1900 p. 235 ff.

³ Cf. Brehier, *L'Art Chrétien*, pp. 283, 369; Müntz, *l. c.* p. 375 f. and especially M. Faucon, "Documents inédits sur l'Eglise de la Chaise-Dieu" in *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux hist.*, Paris, 1884, p. 383-443.

⁴ See the *Vita secunda ad fin.*, ed. Mollat. I. p. 272, Paris, 1914.

⁵ Cf. Faucon, *l. c.* p. 426-7; and R. André-Michel, in *Revue de l'Art chrétien*, 1911, p. 205. A few of the ornaments of the tomb may still be seen in the library of Chaise-Dieu, or were to be seen in 1884.

of the finest white marble, and has been beautifully chiselled. The head, resting on a cushion, is covered with a most shapely tiara of three crowns, the face is refined and delicate, the hands are crossed, the feet rest on two lions, and the regular folds of the vestments show traces of having been at least partially gilt.

Innocent VI

The best-preserved tomb of the Avignon Popes is that of Innocent VI, originally erected in a chapel of the Chartreux at Villeneuve-les-Avignon, and transferred to its present site in the chapel of the Hospice at Villeneuve, (1835) after the original chapel had fallen into decay¹. On the sarcophagus, which, however, no longer contains the remains of the Pope, lies his bearded figure in marble, and above it to a considerable height rise three groups of pinnacles from a vaulted roof supported by eight pillars. Between these pillars are little columns, in Pernes stone, like the rest of the monument, which support pointed arches, and in front of the said pillars are niches for little statues now unfortunately lost. Below the vaulted roof are the arms of the Pope, and above it a statue of our Lord between SS. Peter and Paul. The whole monument, richly carved, is lighter and generally more graceful than its prototype, the tomb of John XXII, and is very far from deserving the epithet of "a rude structure" disdainfully given it by Montfaucon². The monument itself was the work of Beltran Nogayrol, but the figure of the Pope was carved by Bartholomew Cavallier, whom we find receiving as an instalment for his work the large sum of 150 pounds³.

Urban V.

The mausoleum of Bl. Urban V, the last of the Avignon Popes who died in France, was erected in the abbey of St. Victor at Marseilles, where he had been abbot, and whither his body was taken. But of this tomb, one of the most magnificent of fourteenth century monuments, it has been said that well-nigh all that remains of it is the engraving of it given by the Bollandists⁴, because only its base and a few fragments of it are now to be found. It was erected by Joglarii at the command of Pope Gregory XI, Urban's successor, and

¹ Cf. *Le tombeau du P. Inn. VI.* by Rob. André-Michel, in *Revue de l'Art chrétien*, 1911. p. 205; now more accessible in his *Avignon*, Paris, 1920 p. 78 ff.

² See his *Travels*, Eng. ed. 1712, p. 5.

³ Michel, p. 208-9 quoting from the Vatican Archives, *Introitus et exitus*, 294, f. 108 v. to 109. "Bartholomeo Cavalherii qui facit monumentum d. n. Pape. in diminutionem salarii... quod debet habere... CL libras".

⁴ Ap. *Propyl. ad mensem Maii*, p. 93.



19. MONUMENT TO GREGORY XI, CHURCH OF S. FRANCESCA ROMANA, ROME.

[Facing p. 60.]



20. URBAN VI, VATICAN GROTTO, ROME.

OF THE MIDDLE AGES

was placed against the left wall of the choir¹. Gothic in style, it stood some twenty-one feet high by about eleven and a quarter broad. The lower half, where was the recumbent effigy of the Pope, was adorned with a number of little columns supporting ogival and trefoil arches; while the upper half displayed pointed arches, pinnacles, and a frieze, and niches filled with statues. Both parts bear the arms of the Pope. In the tympanum may be seen angels carrying to heaven the soul of the departed Pontiff, and placing it at the feet of the Eternal Judge, by whose side is the seated figure of the Mother of God, and around whom are angels in adoration. Papebrock, the Bollandist, tells us of the difficulty he had in getting his drawing of the tomb, which, he says, was then in its lower half much damaged, and which was all made of one kind of stone and that of a not expensive kind². The damage of which the distinguished Bollandist complained was no doubt completed when the church was secularized, and choir-stalls were put up against the tomb. The epitaph which was engraved on the monument proclaimed Urban's virtues, especially his justice. It told how he repaired the Churches in Rome, fed the poor of Christ, and brought back to the Catholic faith the Emperor of the Greeks; and how in fine he wrought miracles after his death in all countries. "Wherefore, devout reader, with pure heart, commend yourself to the Blessed Urban"³.

To Gregory XI, who, by returning to Rome, brought the locally brilliant period of the Avignon Papacy to an end, no contemporary monument was erected. He was buried in the Church of Sta. Francesca Romana, and against the wall to the right of the sanctuary near his grave there is a large cenotaph with a relief executed by Olivieri in the days of Gregory XIII. It shows the Pope on horseback beneath a canopy, with the "flabella" held on each side of him. Just in front of the horse may be seen St. Catherine of Siena, who was mainly instrumental in bringing the Pope back to Rome. Citizens are seen coming out to welcome the Pope from one of the gates of

Gregory XI.

¹ Ciacconius says that the tomb was placed in the chapel of St. Peter near the high altar where, in his time, († 1599) it was still to be seen *Cf. vitae dal RR. PP.* I. 936.

² *L. c.* A cenotaph was also erected to Urban in Avignon itself in the Church of St. Martial. Its chief ornament, a fine alabaster figure of the Pope, is now in the Musée Calvet of that city. *Cf. E. Müntz "La statue du P. Urbain V" in Gazette Archéologique 1884, p. 84-104.*

³ *Cf. Magnan, Hist. d'Urbain V, p. 373 ff. and Chaillon, Le B. Urbain V, p. 213.*

the city, the ruinous state of which is suggested by a large breach in its walls. Moving equally with the Pope towards the city but in the air, are the chair of St. Peter supported on a cloud, and a cherub bearing the keys and a tiara. Evidences of the revival of classical ideas in art are manifested in details of this interesting relief. Rome, in the guise of Minerva bearing an olive branch, comes forth at the head of the citizens to greet the Pope. The soldiers who follow him are carved in classical style, which is also apparent in the details of the artist's signature "Petri Pauli Olivieri opus". This cenotaph was erected some two hundred years after Gregory's death (1584) by the senate and people of Rome, "not unmindful of the benefit" he had conferred on their city by restoring to Rome "the pontifical chair".¹ But the Roman people of his own day were content to bury him in a plain coffin, on the lid of which in Gothic letters ran: "Here lies the body of the Blessed Pope Gregory XI"².

Urban VI.

By putting an end to the Babylonian Captivity, Gregory XI was able to put an end to many of the evil results that had followed therefrom, but he could not end them all. The great schism of the West was one of the results of it. Urban VI, under whom, and largely through whom, it began, died in Rome, and was buried in St. Peter's. His tomb, which is described as like a little basilica, and which is said to have been very splendid³, had, as we have already noted⁴ some strange adventures before it was placed in the Vatican crypt where it may now be seen. What remains, however, of Urban's monument is enough to show that the artists did not at once return to Rome with the Popes. The tombs of Urban and his two successors are distinctly coarse in execution. That of Urban VI consists of a rudely carved marble sarcophagus without a basement, but with a cover on which rests a recumbent figure. On the right side of the sarcophagus are the words "Urbanus Papa VI" and on each side of it is the figure of an angel in low relief holding a candlestick in which is a lighted candle. In front of the central panel is a

¹ See the inscription set up by the S. P. Q. R. along with their monument, ap. Galletti, *Inscript. Rom.*, II. p. XXVIII.

² Lanciani, *The Golden Days of the Renaissance in Rome*, p. 21.

³ Ciampini, *De sacris aedif.* p. 68. Before being brought into the outer left aisle, his body was for a time buried in the chapel of St. Andrew.

⁴ See *supra* p. 18. Platina in his life of Urban VI tell us that in his time the Pope's tomb with its rude and tasteless epitaph was still to be seen. The "basilica-like" tomb may be seen in the designs of Grimaldi, *Cod. Barb. Lat.* 2733, fl. 116 and 180, Cf. plate.

figure of the Pope, on his knees, wearing a triple crowned tiara, and receiving from St. Peter who stands beside him two keys of a most disproportionately large size. It may have been that the artist wished to show that they were no ordinary keys, but the keys of heaven and hell. On each side of this panel there is a shield surmounted by the triple crown, and showing the Pope's arms. Along the thin ledge of the sarcophagus run the words: "Hic jacet Urbanus VI Pont. Opt. Max.". That the present lid of the sarcophagus does not belong to it, is clear both from the words of Ciampini, and from his design, which shows a roof-like cover, and from the facts that it is too long for the sarcophagus, and that the figure on it has a tiara of only one crown. Moreover the faces of the kneeling figure and of the recumbent figure are completely different. The protruding upper lip and forward chin of the lower figure speak eloquently of the obstinate Urban, and show a very different face from that of the upper figure, with its flat features and double chin. Besides, the lid is of stone, whereas the sarcophagus is of white marble. It has been conjectured that the existing lid really belongs to the sarcophagus of Nicholas III which it fits well¹. It is curious that, speaking broadly, we can gather from existing remains both authentic likenesses of the Popes², and the details of their tombs down to our own times from the days of the same Pope, Boniface VIII.

In a collection of engravings of Papal sepulchral monuments published in 1780³, there is what purports to be an illustration of the tomb of Boniface IX, the successor of Urban VI. The plate of which we give a copy shows an apse decorated in the Renaissance style. Resting on its raised floor is a basement bearing the inscription: "Bonifacius IX stirpe Tomacellus, genere Cybo"; and on it again stands the sarcophagus. Decorated with a medallion showing the busts of the apostles SS. Peter and Paul, flanked by two angels bearing candlesticks and candles, and by two shields displaying the papal arms, it is surmounted by a recumbent figure of the Pontiff, wearing the triple crown. The illustration has a printed notice to the effect that it presents the "Sepulchre of Boniface as it was

Boniface IX

¹ Cf. L. Filippini, *La scultura nel trecento*, p. 120 ff.; Dionysio supposes but without reason, that the lions now at the feet of the Cosmatesque throne of St. Peter in the Vatican crypts (see his plate IX) once formed part of the monument of Urban VI.

² Cf. *infra*, p. 132 f.

³ *Depositi e medaglie d'alcuni sommi Pontefici*, Roma, 1780.

formerly erected in the old basilica of St. Peter's, of which fragments are now to be found in the Crypt".

Unfortunately, as we shall see, complete reliance cannot be placed on the design given in the *Depositum*. If the lie is not given to it by the style of the monument, which tells of a later date than 1404, it is assuredly so given by the extant remains of the mausoleum, and by a written description of it that has come down to us. The "marble sepulchre of the Pontiff" erected by his brother Giovanni Tomacelli, count of Sora, is not merely described in general terms by Alphanus as being "most elegant"¹ but is distinctly stated by Platina, who saw it, to have been adorned with mosaic work². This description squares with the well-known Cosmati fragment of the kneeling Pope in the Lateran basilica. It shows both the mosaic work, and the arms of Pope Boniface. Because sufficient attention had not been paid either to this coat of arms, or to the effigy of Boniface IX, still to be found in the cloisters of St. Paul's Outside-the-Walls, this fragment used at one time to be supposed to represent Innocent IV. From the clumsy figure of the Pope we cannot form any idea of the original form of the monument. One can only say that it was in a debased Cosmati style; that, if the recumbent figure of the design in the volume *Depositum*³ just cited ever formed part of the mausoleum of Boniface, it is not now to be found; and that the mausoleum itself must have consisted of at least two storeys.

In the chatty diary of Antonio Pietro⁴, and in one of the Lives of Boniface IX⁵, it is said that the body of that Pope was laid in the chapel of SS. Peter and Paul off the left outer aisle. Then, when in 1409, the "most elegant" tomb, which his brother, Giovanni Tomacelli, Count of Sora, had caused to be erected for him in the chapel of St. Giles, was finished, the body was transferred thither on August 5⁶. As our worthy beneficiary, Antonio, only obtained 23 solidi and two denarii on the occasion, he takes care to tell us that the function was carried out in very poor style "cum multa

¹ *L. c.* p. 93.

² "Vermiculato opere distincto". *In vit. Bonif.*

³ A recumbent figure is also assigned to Boniface IX in the drawing given by the Bollandists, ap. *Propyl. ad mens. Maii*, p. 212 ed. Paris, 1868, though the tiara with only one crown tells against this.

⁴ *Ap. R. I. SS.*, XXIV pt. V. p. 41.

⁵ *Ap. L. P.*, II. 531.

⁶ Alphanus, *De Basilica Vat.*, p. 92-3 and Antonio, *l. c.*, who says: "Fuit translatum corpus d. B. XI de capella SS. App. Petri et Pauli (hac etiam S. Thomae Ap.) etc".

OF THE MIDDLE AGES

miseria" ¹. No doubt it was in 1507, when the chapel of St. Giles was demolished to make way for one of the great pillars of the new basilica, that the tomb of Boniface was wrecked ². Fragments of it, as we have seen, subsequently found their way to St. John Lateran, and to the chapel of the Crucifixion therein.

In the crypt of St. Peter's may still be seen the carved sepulchral slab showing in low relief the figure of Innocent VII (1404-6) the successor of Boniface IX. Among those who had been present at the coronation ceremony of this short-lived Pope was our countryman, Adam de Usk. In his Chronicle, under the year 1404, he tells us how after the new Pope had been robed for his coronation in the chapel of St. Gregory, the tow was lighted and quenched to impress upon the Pontiff how transitory was the glory of the earth "just as in the coronation of the Emperor in the very noontide of his glory, stones of every kind and colour worked with all the cunning of the craft are wont to be presented to him by the stone-cutters with these words: 'Most excellent prince, of what kind of stone wilt thou that thy tomb be made?' " It would be interesting to know if Innocent were aware of this custom at imperial coronations, and if he at any time expressed a desire to have a tomb of any particular stone. In a biography of Innocent published by Duchesne ³, it is stated that that Pontiff was buried in St. Peter's in the chapel of SS. Peter and Paul, i. e., near the confession of St. Peter. Thence, in the days of Nicholas V, it was transferred to the foot of the baptismal font in the chapel of St. Thomas ⁴ as both it and the chapel in which it was originally placed had fallen into decay ⁵. When the demolition of the ancient basilica was consummated under Paul V, we are told by Grimaldi ⁶ that Innocent's tomb was opened on Sept. 12, 1606. The bones of the Pontiff were then deposited in a new marble

Inno-
cent VII.

¹ Cf. Theodoric de Niem, *De Schismate*, p. 185.

² Grimaldi, *Cod. Barb. Lat.* 2733 fol. 385. According to Alpharanus the chapel of St. Giles was in the west corner of the outer right or north aisle. It is known to have been near the chapel of Nicholas III, but where that was exactly is not clear. Cf. *Alph. l. c. n. p.* 92.

³ *L. P.*, II. 311 ff. and 509 n. or ap. *R. I. SS.*, III pt. II. 831. This chapel will be the same as that which Platina in his *Life* of this Pope says was "formerly dedicated to the Popes".

⁴ Alpharanus, p. 83.

⁵ Platina, *l. c.* He quotes the epitaph which Nicholas V caused to be placed on the repaired tomb: "Innocentio VII. Pont. Max., cum neglecti ejus Sepulchri memoria pene interisset, Nicholas V, P. M. instaurari hoc curavit".

⁶ *Cod. Barb. Lat.* 2733, fol. 181, v. ff.

sarcophagus which was placed in the crypt along with the epitaph which Nicolas V had placed on the restored tomb, and along with the figure which had once rested on it. The survival of the figure of the Pope amidst these migrations of his body is fortunate, as it has preserved for us the portrait of this short-lived Pontiff, and shows very clearly the papal vestments, the cross on the sandals, the fannon and the pallium, in the style worn at the period falling on the breast and over the upper part of the arms.

Gregory XII

In a dark corner of the cathedral of St. Flaviano at Recanati is the rough mausoleum of Gregory XII who, by his resignation brought unity to the Church, and who died in this town not as Pope, but as Legate of the March of Ancona (1417). If any reliance could be placed on the engraving of the tomb in the *Depositi*¹, that collection of engravings already cited, Gregory's monument originally displayed two statues of the Pope. One was the usual recumbent figure on the sarcophagus, the other a seated figure of the Pontiff, with one hand raised in the act of benediction, and with the other grasping the keys. It appears, however, that no reliance can be placed upon the engraving. It will be noticed at once that it presents the recumbent figure — the only figure now extant — as wearing a tiara, whereas in fact it wears a mitre, as the accompanying photograph of the actual tomb shows. Moreover, as in the case of the tomb of Boniface IX, the Renaissance setting assigned to the two figures still further demonstrates the utter unreliability of the engraving. Hence the local antiquarian of Recanati assures us, and no doubt correctly, that Gregory's monument was never notably more imposing than it is to-day, in spite of its three removals. It was removed for the first time in 1623 when from its original site near the eastern door it was taken to the north of the cathedral. The coffin was opened on that occasion and the body was found whole. Then, in 1760, the monument was transferred to the west of the building, and finally, in 1793 to its present dark corner. Opened again at this last date, the coffin contained but dust². The author, here cited, affirms positively that the design of Ciacconius was imagined by the editors (F. and A. de Rossi) of the third edition of that book, and was worked out

¹ Taken from the third edition of Ciacconius *Vit. RR. PP.* II, 760.

² Cf. Filip. Raffaelli, *Il monumento di P. Gregorio XII*, p. 18 and the inscriptions there cited for these various translations, Fermo, 1877. See also Victorrelli in his notes to the life of this pontiff in Ciacconius.

OF THE MIDDLE AGES

by the well-known engraver Egidio Sadeler¹ († 1629). The original monument, then, was the rough sarcophagus which we see to-day, and which bears the rude figure of the Pontiff and displays his arms, and epitaph. Unfortunately the tomb is in such a dark and awkward place that the epitaph, in its Gothic characters obscure enough in any case, cannot conveniently be read. But the present writer was able to read enough of it to realize that not one of the printed versions of it which he had seen gave it in full². These versions tell how Gregory XII, the supreme ruler of the Church, lies buried within this tomb. Given by God to make peace, he ever strove to bring the nations back to unity, or to re-unite the wicked with the saints. *Constance* is the witness that he put an end to the arch-schism caused by the Council of Pisa. Becoming Cardinal for the second time³, he again returned to the March [of Ancona] and was buried in the Cathedral Church of St. Flavian in Recanati in the year 1417.

During Gregory's pontificate the distress of the Church at the continuance of the Schism became acute. Hoping to mend the unhappy rent, a council at Pisa ("the folly at Pisa", as it is called in Gregory's epitaph) elected a new Pope, who took the name of Alexander V (1409). It merely succeeded in making three claimants to the Papacy instead of two. Alexander, however, only survived his election a few months, and died at Bologna (1410). About the time of his death we are told that there arrived in Bologna the sculptor Niccolo di Pietro of Arezzo; and, at the entreaty of another Aretine, Leonardi Bruni, the favourite secretary of the deceased Pontiff, he consented to make the tomb for Alexander. Owing, continues Vasari in his *Life of Niccolo*, to the difficulty of obtaining stone and marble, the artist had to make the tomb and its ornaments, including the recumbent figure of the Pope, modelled from life, in terra-cotta and stucco. Not long after, the erection of the monument behind the choir of the Franciscan Church, Niccolo himself fell ill and died and was buried in the same church. Against this circumstantial account of Vasari, which must contain some grains of truth, we have

Alexander V.

¹ *Ib.*, p. 23.

² Hence the versions given in Ciacconius, Duchesne, *L. P.*, II. 531 and Bañan, *Le tombe dei Papi* (a disappointing book) p. 48, all differ, more or less.

³ He had been made legate of the March of Ancona by Innocent VII, March 17, 1405, and was again named such by the council of Constance, after his resignation of the Papacy.

the fact that the account-books of the monastery of St. Francis have revealed for the year 1482 various payments of ducats to Sperandio da Mantova, the famous medallist, "for the sepulchre of Pope Alexander"¹. This undisputed fact, coupled with the classical style of the monument, which would seem to speak for the close of the fifteenth century, but not for its beginning, has led Rubbiani to assert that whatever hand Niccolo may or may not have had in the original mausoleum, we owe it in its present design to Sperandio.

This well-balanced monument may be said to be made up of three parts — a high elaborately decorated basement with two angels resting on shields that display the flaming star of the Pope's arms; a sarcophagus divided by four short pillars into three panels which again display the arms, and with a narrow border or frieze, resting on the pilasters which shows six winged heads²; and finally the recumbent figure of the Pontiff wearing a pointed triple crown. The couch on which the figure rests is inclined at an angle toward the spectator, and rests beneath a highly decorated ridge on which stand a statue of our Lady bearing her Child, and the statues of St. Francis and St. Anthony on each side of her. In the course of restorations of the monument in 1584³ and 1672, seemingly during the former, a drapery in red fresco was painted on the wall behind the mausoleum, and at its top a half-figure of the Eternal Father with outstretched hand above the statue of our Lady. Traces of the fresco may still be seen, and its form may be gathered from the engraving of the tomb given in the collection of such monuments (the *Depositi*) which we have frequently cited⁴.

Returning to the recumbent figure of the Pope, we would note with regard to its face that while Venturi regards it as offering merely the conventional type of a dead man⁵, Rubbiani considers it as a portrait. From the fact that Pietro d'Argelata has left it on record that he embalmed the body of Alexander in such a way that, without giving off "any disagreeable odour" it was exposed to the

¹ See the extracts in a *Nota* of A. Rubbiani, p. 39-40 at the end of N. Malvezzi's *Alessandro V a Bologna*, Bologna, 1893.

² This frieze is said *ib.*, 40, to be the only portion of Sperandio's work which has survived the damage done to the monument by wanton injuries and translations.

³ Cf. the Bollandists, *Propyl. ad mensem Maii*, p. 109.

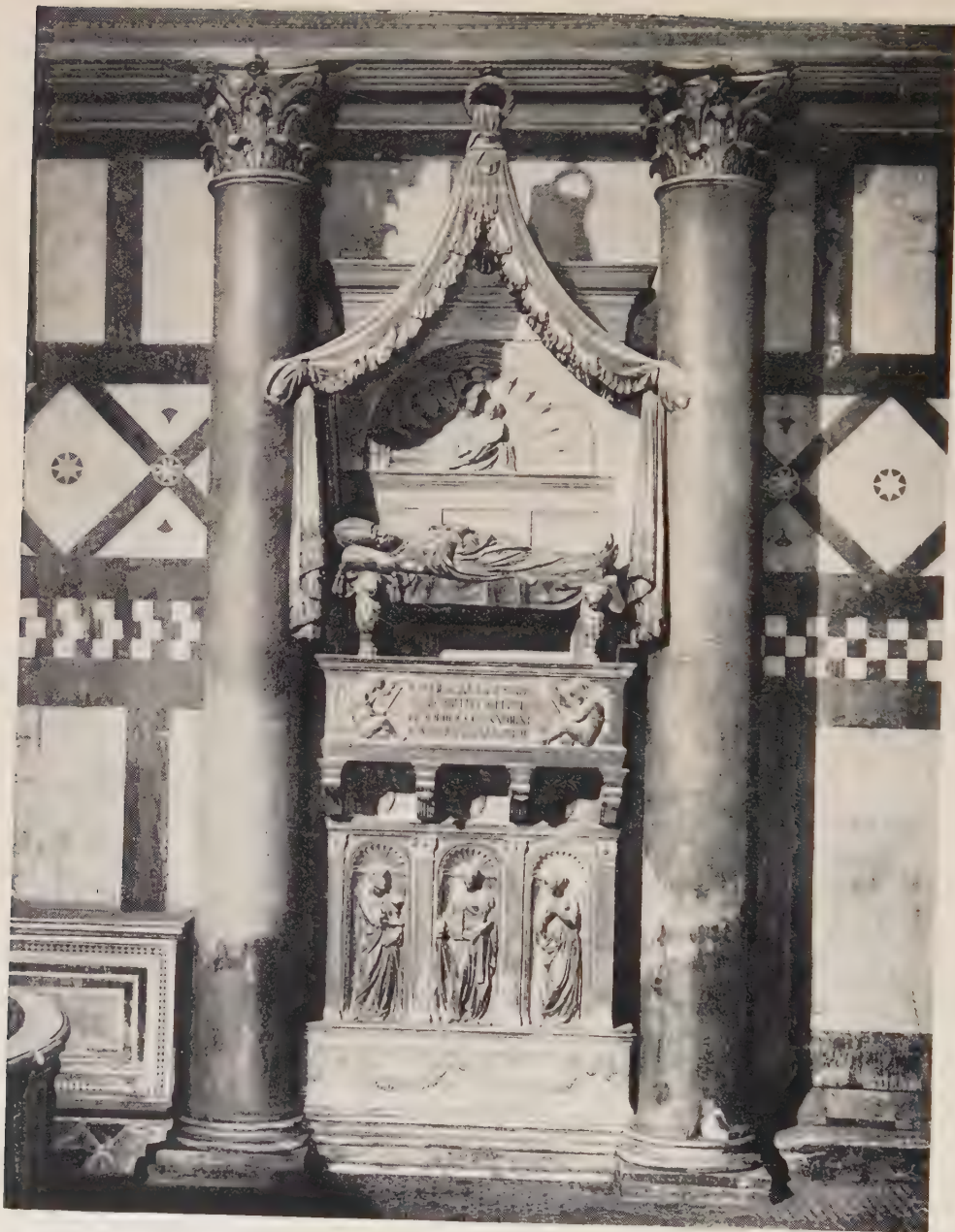
⁴ The engraving seems to have been first published in the edition of Ciacconius 1677.

⁵ "Sperandio da Mantova" ap. *Archivio storico dell'arte*, 1889, p. 232.



21. ALEXANDER V, CHURCH OF S. FRANCESCO, BOLOGNA.

[Facing p 68.



22. THE ANTI-POPE BALDASSARE COSSA (JOHN XXIII).

[Facing p. 69.]

OF THE MIDDLE AGES

public gaze for eight days ¹, Rubbiani regards it as not unlikely that, in accordance with a custom already introduced, a mask was taken of the face, and preserved in the monastery. It would be from this mask that Sperandio modelled his likeness of the deceased pontiff.

This terra-cotta mausoleum of Alexander V which now rests against the wall of the north nave, and which, after the original traces, has been recoloured, is quite unique among the sepulchral monuments of the Popes. The present good condition of this fine work of art is due to the generosity of Pope Leo XIII and to the most able and scientific restoration which was made of it by Rubbiani, the author of the *Nota* which we are now utilizing. As in the case of so many other papal monuments, invaluable as historical documents, and often too as works of art, the mausoleum of Alexander V had suffered very badly from translations, restorations, and criminal neglect ²; and but for Rubbiani's intelligent work, would have been lost to the world of art.

It would seem that a sepulchral monument in stone had been erected for Alexander before Sperandio produced his in terra-cotta. In the account-books of the monastery of St. Francis already cited, there is, under the expenses of the year 1424, an entry for stones "for the sepulchre of Pope Alexander". No doubt when Vasari saw Sperandio's mausoleum (1535), he supposed it was the original monument that had been erected by the artist whom he called Niccolo di Pietro, and who, it appears, must be identified with Niccolo de' Lamberti di Piero ³.

The story of the vicissitudes of Alexander's tomb is told by

¹ *Cirugia mag. P. de l'Argelata*, Berg. 1497, Lib. V. tract XII c. III p. 1067, quoted by Rubbiani, p. 46.

² For an account of the translation of the monument in 1807 to the Certosa outside the walls of Bologna, of its repairs in 1837, and of its final restitution to the Church of St. Francis (1889) along with its thoroughly scientific restoration at that time, see the above *Nota* of Rubbiani, who effected the restoration.

Among other *sources* made use of by him in his restoration of the tomb, Rubbiani makes mention of a golden florin of Alexander. He adds that there are only two known specimens of this coin, which are both in the Museum of the city of Bologna. According to Panvinio in a note to Platina, the following epitaph was originally engraved on Alexander's tomb:

Summus pastorum Alexander Quintus, et omnis Scripturae lumen, sanctissimus Ordo Minorum Quem dedit, et proprio Cretensis nomine Petrus;
Migravit. anno Domini MCCCX. Cf. Duchesne, *L. P.*, II, p. 512 n.

³ Rubbiani, *l. c.* p. 44-5.

inscriptions alongside it. As the spectator looks at it, he will see on his right:

"Hoc monumentum an. 1482 sepulchro Alexandri Quinti, P. M. Franciscales imposuerunt ad arcum primum absidis australem". This work of Sperandio of Mantua "Instauratum a. 1583 pietate et impensa J. B. P. Zanettini, iterum, a. 1672 — a. 1807 templo ad profana converso, diffractum, partesque cum reliquiis pontificis in novum coemeterium publicum illatae sunt ubi a. 1836 coagmentatum incompta arte". When in 1886 the church was restored to sacred uses, the monument was in 1889 given back to the cardinal archbishop Battaglini, and then, by the munificence of Leo XIII, it was re-erected in the left aisle: "ad pristinam formam uti reliquiae decessoris tuto... conquiescerent, solemnii ritu reconditae die X Oct. a. 1893".

On the left side are other inscriptions, one being the original epitaph: "Summus Pastorum Alex. Q, et omnis Scripturae lumen sanctissimus Ordo Minorum quem edidit et proprio Cretensis nomine Petrus migravit superum ad lumen sedesque beatas, a. 1410"¹. The remaining inscriptions on the left do little more than repeat the others.

John XXIII.

On Dec. 22 1419, there died Baldassare Cossa, once known as John XXIII, the successor of Alexander V, the most striking figure among the claimants to the Papacy in the days of the Great Schism. Deposed by the Council of Constance, he died a few months after having been named cardinal bishop of Tusculum by Martin V. His friend Cosimo de' Medici², the Maecenas of Florence, employed Donatello, one of the greatest sculptors of the day, to make a tomb for the dethroned pontiff in the Baptistery at Florence. With the aid of his pupil Michelozzi, Donatello erected the well-known monument which we see to-day. John's recumbent figure in gilt bronze resting on a marble couch supported by lions, wears the mitre of a bishop in place of the tiara of the Pope. This is explained by the simple inscription on the sarcophagus beneath, which gives the date of the death of John "who was once Pope"³. In the niches of the basement are the three marble statues which are known to re-

¹ These inscriptions were copied by me on Jan. 13, 1909.

² According to Ghiberti (*Cron. del Secolo XV.* ed. Hagen. p. 116) John was also "amico delle belle arti".

³ "Joannes quondam Papa XXIII, obiit Florentiae, anno Domini MCCCC-XVIII, XI Kalendas Januarii".

present Faith, Hope, and Charity, but which are variously ascribed to Donatello himself, or to Michelozzi or to Pagno di Lapo¹. Since its erection, this splendid mausoleum of the last Pope buried outside Rome has been happy in having no history, and it is too well known to stand in need of being described here at any greater length.

Equally well-known is the "pavement" tomb in bronze of Martin V. in the Lateran. "The happiness of his age", as his epitaph justly calls him who ended the great schism, was fortunate also in having a pupil of Donatello, a certain Simone² to cast his grave slab (1443?). Suffice it now to add that this fine piece of metal work which shows the figure of the Pope in bas-relief was originally "in the midst of the basilica before the heads of the Apostles", and is still to be seen before the high altar³.

Cardinal Peter Barbo, whose name is to be found on a mutilated inscription in the Crypt of St. Peter's, is therefore stated to have been the cardinal nephew who employed the sculptor, Isaia da Pisa, to erect a sepulchral monument to his uncle Eugenius IV who followed Martin V. But the epitaph of the Pope plainly states that it was erected by order of another nephew, Francesco Condulmari⁴. The "most elegant marble tomb" (as Alpharanus describes it) carved

¹ Cf. Vasari's *Lives* of Donatello and Michelozzi; Perkins, *Hist. handbook of Italian Sculpture*, 95 fr.; and E. Hutton, *Florence and the cities of Northern Tuscany*, p. 173. Whether John's tomb was ever coloured may be doubted, but Balcarres, *Evolution of Italian Sculpture*, p. 270 n. says that the sketch-book of Vettorio Ghiberti (*Bib. Naz.* at Florence, fol. 70 a) shows it "coloured with a scheme which one must confess is pleasing".

² Vasari in his *Life* of Donatello calls him the brother of that sculptor. He repeats the assertion in his *Lives* of Filarete and Simone, and adds that after assisting Filarete in casting the bronze doors of St. Peter's, Simone made the bronze tomb of P. Martin. Modern criticism, however, has decided that Donatello had no brother called Simone; that Vasari has made one Simone out of two; and that the Simone who made Martin's tomb was S. di Nanni Ferucci da Fiesole. Cf. Perkins, *l. c.* pp. 113, 125-6 and 98.

³ Cf. Papebrock, *Propyl.*, p. 440 ed. 1742; and Pastor, *History of the Popes*, I. 281.

⁴ Dufresne, *Les cryptes Vaticanes*, p. 35 n. 70; and Mignanti, *Basilica Vat.*, I. 89. The epitaph, after stating that the Pope, who ever despised the vanities of the world, had expressed a wish to be simply buried where men would tread the earth above, adds that his nephew Francesco could not suffer this, but ordered the erection of the noble monument now in evidence:

"Sed non quem rubro decoraverat ille galero
Non hoc Franciscus stirps sua clara tulit.
Suscepitque memor meriti tam nobile, quod nunc
Cernis tam praestans surgere jussit.

F. Condulmari, known as the cardinal of Venice, was cardinal bishop of Porto.

by Isaia, who did no little work for the basilica of St. Peter's¹, was at first, as the Pope had wished, placed near the tomb of Eugenius III at the western extremity of the outer southern aisle. Then, when the destruction of St. Peter's commenced, it was, as we learn from payments noted by Frey², transferred first to the eastern portion of the same basilica (outer northern aisle) and then finally to the Church of San Salvatore in *Lauro*³. The work of Isaia was highly praised by his contemporaries. The poet Pietro Porcellio de' Pandoni († 1453) in enumerating some of his productions, acclaims "the marvellous sepulchral urn of Eugenius". The praise given to it by contemporaries was in the main well-deserved. No one who will take the trouble to go to the hall by the Church of S. Salvatore in *Lauro*, to which the tomb has been removed, will fail to be struck by the pleasing effect produced by the monument as a whole, and he will carry away with him a mental picture of an elegant sarcophagus, with its ornaments of graceful garlands, of the reposeful recumbent figure of the Pope beneath a sweet Madonna with her Child, and surrounded by the figures, no doubt a little heavy, of the four doctors of the Latin Church in shell-like niches⁴. We learn however, from Maffeo Vegius, a man much in the confidence of Eugenius, that he had no desire for any such elaborate mausoleum. Vegius says that he remembered that once when Eugenius was in Florence, the conversation turned on great sepulchral monuments, and the Pope declared that, if he died in Rome, he wished to be buried near Eugenius III⁵, and in a simple tomb like that of Eugenius, with an equally unpretentious epitaph. For, adds Vegius, he was "a ruler of great moderation" who despised the vain things of the world⁶.

¹ Cf. Perkins, *l. c.*, p. 173.

² *Jahrbuch*, pp. 114 and 121, cited in the notes to Alphanus.

³ Very inaccurately is it said by Gregorovius, *l. c.* p. 74, "Yet Eugenius' monument in St. Peter's perished". His English editor, in translating the epitaph from which we have quoted some lines above, is not very happy in translating: "Alter ut accipiat fidei documenta Latinae" as "One beseeching him to accept the proofs of the Latin faith". The line refers to John Palaeologos and simply says he came to the Pope "to accept the Latin faith".

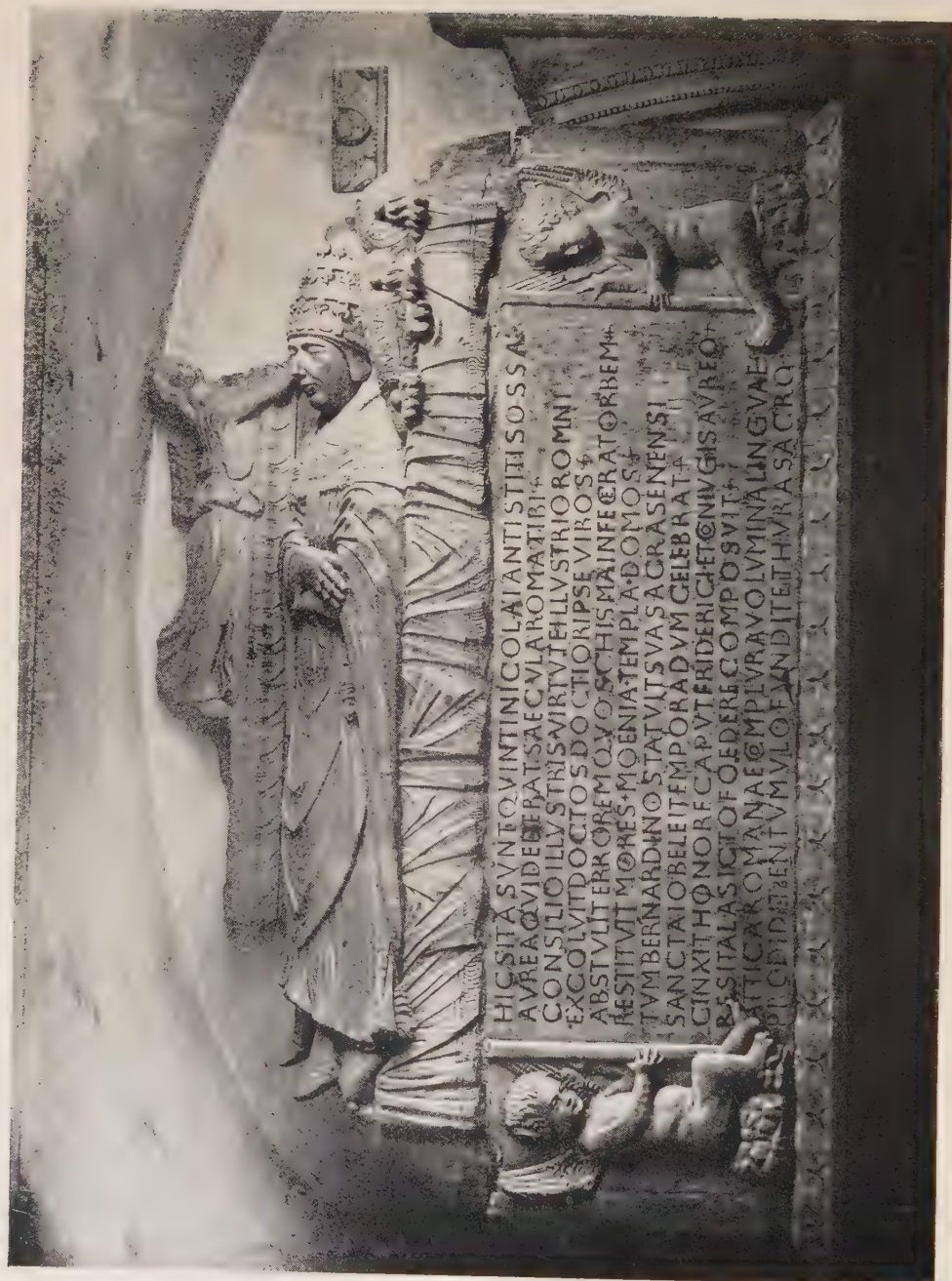
⁴ Cf. an article on Isaia by A. Battaglini in *Atti acad. Rom. archeol.*, I. p. 113-32, 1821. "Testis et Eugeni mirabilis urna sepulcri". Maffeo Vegius also (Lib. IV, n. 132 ap. *Acta SS.*, Jun. t. VII) speaks of the tomb as "insigne et magno artificis ingenio elaboratum".

⁵ Cf. *Anon., de morte Eug. IV*, p. 95 in *Append. ad op. Ang. Mai.*, Rome, 1871. ⁶ *L. c.* ap. *Acta SS.*



23. EUGENIUS IV, CHURCH OF SAN SALVATORE, ROME.

[Facing p. 72.]



24. NICHOLAS V, VATICAN GROTTO, ROME.

OF THE MIDDLE AGES

Eugenius IV was succeeded by Nicholas V, one of the greatest of the Popes, and one of the most attractive characters of the early Renaissance. With his keen eye for the beautiful, this papal Humanist could not but turn his attention to St. Peter's. He was distressed to find that, as a whole, this temple, which his biographer declared to be more divine than human in its beauty ¹, was suffering grievously from the effects of age, and he aspired to rebuild it from its foundations. Further, instead of finding all the "beauty of the King's daughter within" he found that the inner glory of the basilica was being defiled by the numerous burials "of Prelates and Pontiffs" that took place within its walls. He wished that in future sepulchral monuments should be erected outside the basilica to its left ². However, after his death, a really fine monument was erected to him by Cardinal Calandrini, in the left outer aisle by the great Sacristy, near to which his predecessor and many other pontiffs had been buried ³. When Julius II began the destruction of old St. Peter's, the mausoleum of Nicholas was transferred to the right outer aisle of the preserved eastern portion ⁴; and then, on the final demolition of the basilica, found its way to the crypt of the Vatican (Sept. 11, 1606) ⁵. Fortunately Grimaldi, from whom we have some of the facts just narrated, has left us a couple of designs of the monument of Nicholas ⁶, and we have also an illustration of it in Ciacconius ⁷. From these designs, and from its existing remains in the Crypt of the Vatican, which consist of the sarcophagus, with its recumbent figure and inscription, and the statues of six apostles which flanked it, we can form a satisfactory notion of the original monument. Rectangular

¹ See Manetti, *Life of Nich. V*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, III pt. II p. 936.

² *Ib.* To prevent the basilica "aliquibus defunctorum praelatorum ac Pontificum humationibus ullatenus pollueretur, hujusmodi sepulcra a sinistro latere extra Templum e regione ad solium pontificale construi condique volebat".

³ So says Alpharanus, *l. c.* 73. His recent editor, Cerrati, however, regards it as probable that he was buried in the "right outer" aisle, not far from the right transept, and hence supposes two translations in St. Peter's itself. (p. 74 f. n.) But it seems more reasonable to stand by the assertion of Alpharanus, and so avoid multiplying translations. We are assured by J. Fichard that the "splendid monument" of Nicholas V was "super chorum", but alack! already when he saw it in 1535, "extra ecclesiae tectum". Cf. "Excerpta aus J. Fichards Italia von 1536" in *Reperitorium für Kunstwissenschaft* XIV 133 Berlin 1891.

⁴ Grimaldi, *Cod. Barb. Lat.* 2733 f. 99.

⁵ *Ib.*, f. 139.

⁶ *Ib.*, f. 124 and on a larger scale f. 179 v.

⁷ Ed. of 1677 II p. 967, reproduced in the *Depositi*.

in outline, it stood some thirty feet high. The recumbent figure of the Pope in full pontificals, wearing a pointed tiara with three crowns, was placed about half way up the monument¹. It rested on a draped couch and lay stretched out beneath a curtain. His epitaph — the last papal epitaph to be written in verse — composed by Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (afterwards Pius II) was held out on a scroll by two angels. In carved niches with a shell-like finish were the six statues of apostles which are still to be seen in the Vatican crypt. They stood, three at each extremity of the recumbent figure one above the other. These statues, though far from perfect, are decidedly gracious, and show a marked advance on the sculptured figures of the preceding century. In the architrave and immediately over the sarcophagus, are two couples of flying angels, a type of ornamentation, so distinctly characteristic of the Renaissance style, now appearing for the first time on a papal tomb. The upper pair support a shield on which are displayed the arms adopted by Nicholas, the cross keys²; above which is a triple crowned tiara between another pair of cross keys. The mausoleum of Nicholas is a reflex of the age in which it was constructed. In its size, it shows how the study of the classics and of the monuments of antiquity, had filled the minds of men with the grandiose architectural conceptions of the Roman Empire. Its flying angels prove that even the details of imperial structures were being studied and thought worthy of being copied³. Floating "Victories" became flying "Angels".

Calixtus III.

The cultured Nicholas was followed by the first of the Spanish Borgias, Calixtus III. On his death at an advanced age († 1458) he was buried, as all the authorities agree, in the chapel of Sta. Maria de Febribus, the more easterly of the two round chapels that stood outside old St. Peter's⁴. With this statement agreement among

¹ Venturi's adverse criticism of the figure is very severe. "Informe, piatta come schiacciata da un peso, accorciata nelle proporzioni". *Storia dell' Arte Italiana*, VI. 1102.

² Some say that, as Nicholas was not of a family that boasted armorial bearings, he used the cross keys as his arms; but it is now established that he was a member of the Parentucelli family, whose arms were a shield argent with two bands wavy gueles. See Frassoni, *Essai d'Armorial des Papes*, p. 28. f; and H. S. Stroehl, *Album Pontificale*, p. 15 1909. However, the arms adopted by the Pope were a shield gueles with two keys argent and or.

³ One of these angels is preserved in the Vatican Crypts above the sarcophagus. Cf. Sarti and Settele, Plate XXXV where also Grimaldi's sketch of the whole tomb is reproduced. Cf. p. 105 n. 168.

⁴ See his *Life* in Platina.

the authorities would seem almost to come to an end. At any rate, it is not easy to gather from them the story of the translations of his body and tomb, the more so that it became involved with that of the tomb and body of his nephew Alexander VI. In the said chapel of our Lady, Calixtus had erected an oratory in honour of SS. Andrew and James, and it was in that oratory that he was buried. In the first instance his body was placed in an unpretentious marble tomb vaulted "like a hall" (*instar aulae*) and built into the wall of the oratory which he had himself constructed. It bore the simple inscription *Calixtus Tertius Pont. Max*¹. Not content that his uncle should have such a modest monument, Alexander VI caused a splendid marble mausoleum to be erected in his honour, as some say, by Paolino di Antonio di Binasco². Unfortunately, however, it was destroyed in 1586, as the oratory in which it stood was demolished, because it was a hindrance to the transport of the obelisk which Sixtus V had ordered to be taken from the ruins of the Circus of Nero, and placed where it now stands in the centre of the Piazza of St. Peter's³. Nor, as they have hardly any points in common, can we reconstruct the mausoleum from the two designs of it which are extant, one by Grimaldi, and the other, after Ciacconius, in the collection of *Depositi*. It would seem that they are but conjectural restorations from remains which are still to be seen in the Vatican crypts, and of which the most important shows our Lord rising from the tomb. We are at any rate justified in concluding from these designs and from the remains in the Vatican crypt that the mausoleum of Calixtus in its general plan was so far like those of Eugenius IV

¹ Cf. Ciampini, *De sacris aedif*, p. 90 "in tumulo instar aulae concamerato", p. 140 f; and especially the extract from the archives of the chapter of St. Peter's, p. 159.

² Müntz, *Les arts à la cour des Papes*, I. 211. The statement that the mausoleum to Calixtus III was the work of P. di. A. di. B. appears to rest on the following extract quoted by Müntz: "22 Aug. 1485 Paulino de Binasco et sociis muratoribus pro matonibus et sepultura fe. re. Calisti P. III florenos auri di camera 3, et quartos tres unius similis floreni Item pro eorum magisterio florenum unum similis floreni, constituentes florenos auri de camera". In view of this fact, that the said Paulinus and his fellow "muratorii" only receive 5 golden florins between them, it may be doubted whether the work done by them does not refer to the building of a vault, and to the general expenses in that direction of the burial rather than to the carving of a sepulchral monument. E. Rodocanachi, *Histoire de Rome* (1354-1471) p. 346. Paris 1922, quoting *Int. et Ex.* vol. 449, c. 124 ff, gives by mistake 8 florins, and the date as Oct. 17, 1558 for 1458.

³ Cf. Alphanarus, p. 91; Cancellieri, *De Secret.*, II 1124 f. 1274 ff.

and Nicholas V that it displayed a recumbent figure¹ flanked by statues of saints in shell-shaped niches². These statues, according to Grimaldi³ represented SS. Calixtus, Nicholas, Vincent Ferrer, and Augustine. But the last statue, number forty-one in the Vatican crypt, a most gracious figure, is really that of St. Osmund of Salisbury, who is represented, because he had rebuilt his cathedral, as holding a church, curiously enough, with a lofty campanile⁴.

Writing in 1582, Alpharanus tells us that in his time, the bodies of Alexander VI, the nephew of Calixtus III and of Henry Borgia, were placed in the "hall-like" tomb of which we have spoken above, in which was the body of Calixtus⁵. From this, and from the words of Ciampini⁶, it is clear that the monument erected to the memory of his uncle by Alexander was but a cenotaph. After the destruction of the oratory in which these bodies lay (1585) they were placed in a pyramidal tomb, round the four walls of which were fitted the four statues just enumerated⁷. Translated first to a position behind the organ⁸, it was at the instance of a Spaniard transferred to the angle made by the dividing wall and the outer left aisle (1605). A few years afterwards it was broken up, after the remains of the two Popes in a single urn had been taken to the Spanish chapel of Sta. Maria di Monserrato (1610).⁹ Left in the sacristy for over two centuries and a half, the remains of the two Spanish

¹ The recumbent figure in the Crypt that used to be assigned to Alexander VI is that of Calixtus. See plate 47 in Dionysio, and the remarks thereon by Sarti and Settele in their appendix to that work, p. 857.

² Cf. Dufresne, *Cryptes Vat.*, pp. 26 and 31; and Dionysio, plates 26 and 28.

³ *Cod. Barb.* 2733 f. 236.

⁴ Cf. Malden, *The Canonization of S. Osmund*, Salisbury 1901, cited by Cerrati in his notes to Alpharanus, p. 90. He also notes that in 1912 the statue of St. Vincent Ferrer was recovered and placed in the Crypt. Its number is 41a, and it was given by Pius X.

⁵ *De Basil Vat.*, p. 1417.

⁶ *L. c.*, p. 90.

⁷ Cf. Cerrati's note to Alpharanus, p. 90. The remaining two of the statues mentioned by Grimaldi found their way to the church of S. Onofrio on the Janiculum, where they decorate the tomb of Albertus Magnus, Romanus († 1627). Cf. L. Motta-Ciaccio, *l. c.* p. 488.

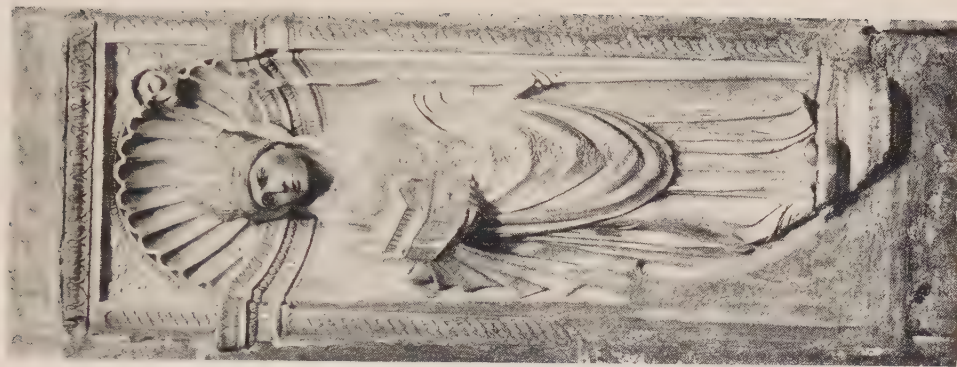
⁸ Which was to the left of the nave near the dividing wall of Paul III.

⁹ Cerrati, *ib.* In *Cod. Urbin. Lat.* n. 1078 fol. 114b, ap. Orbaan, *l. c.* p. 82 under date Feb. 13. 1610, we read that last week the "bodies of Calixtus III and Alexander VI were transferred to the Church of the Madonna di Monserrato della nazione Aragonese, dalla quale si prepara farli sepolture di prezzo con l'aiuto dei signori di casa Borgia, alcuni dei quali sono molto ricche, in Spagna".

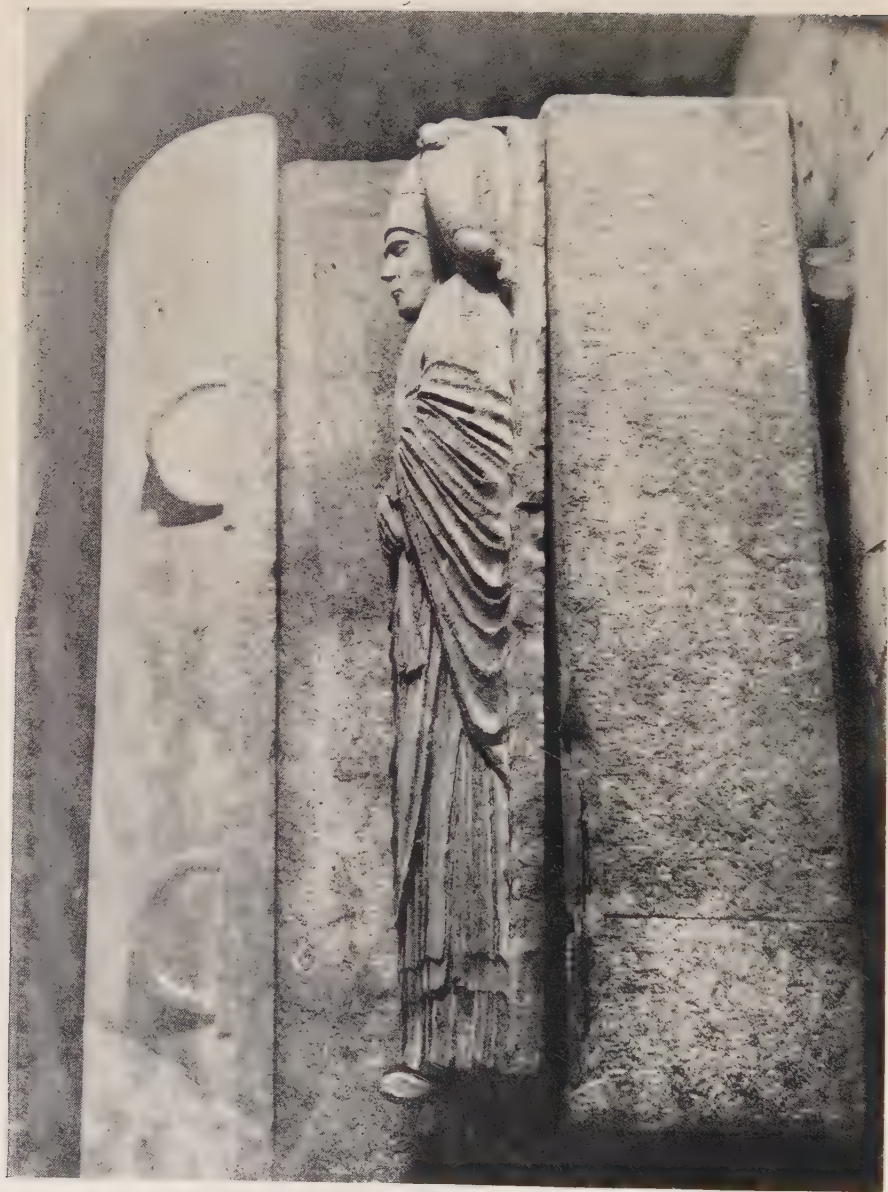
See the official account of this translation in Armellini, *Le chiese di Roma*, p. 416 f.



26. AN APOSTLE, FROM THE TOMB OF
NICHOLAS V.



27. ST. OSMUND OF SALISBURY,
FROM TOMB OF CALIXTUS III.



27. CALIXTUS III.

OF THE MIDDLE AGES

Popes were, only in the year 1881, placed within the small monument in the chapel of St. Diego.

According to Platina, the body of Pius II, Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, whose personal story is one of the most fascinating in the long line of the Papacy, was buried where he had commanded the head of the Apostle St. Andrew to be laid ¹. That was in the chapel of St. Andrew, and there a monument was raised to him, as afterwards also to Pius III, which Fichard who saw them in 1535 describes as "magnificent" ². Marble fragments are shown in the Vatican crypts which are thought to have belonged to this primitive tomb of Pius II ³, the sarcophagus of which in the style of the fourth century is still there.

Pius II.

It was his nephew, cardinal Piccolomini, who raised to him the monument which was first erected in old St. Peter's in the angle between the east and south walls, and which, on the final destruction of the eastern portion of the basilica, was conveyed to the Church of St. Andrea della Valle (1614). Filling up the upper space between two of the great pillars, it presents the general type of the papal sepulchral monument of this period which we have already described. Assigned at different times to different sculptors only indifferently known to fame ⁴, the monument has been divergently appraised. To some it has appeared "splendid", to others "hideous" ⁵. As it is "plain for all folk to see", let each one judge of its merits or demerits for himself.

If there are great differences of opinion as to the artistic worth of the tomb of Pius II, critics are almost at one as to the great merit of what remains to us of the mausoleum of his successor Paul II (Pietro Barbo). On his death, (1471) his nephew, cardinal Marco

Paul II.

¹ That is to say in St. Peter's, in the chapel of St. Andrew. See Pastor, *Hist. of Popes*, III, p. 259, for the history of his reception of the head of St. Andrew.

² "Excerpta aus J. Fichards Italia von 1536" in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XIV p. 133, Berlin 1891.

³ In Dionysius, *l. c.*, plates XXX n. 3, and XXXIII n. 2 are depicted fragments which are supposed to have belonged to this original monument.

⁴ By Cancellieri, *De Secret.*, p. 172, to Pasquino Politiano; and by Hare, *Walks in Rome*, II. p. 185 and others, to Niccolo della Guardia, and Pietro Paulo da Todi, following the declaration of Vasari in his life of Paolo Romano. In his life of Filarete, however, Vasari assigns the monument to Pasquino da Montepulciano, one of his pupils. Canon Fr. Albertini in his *De mirabilibus novae et veteris Romae*, dedicated to Julius II, speaks of this tomb and of that of Pius III as adorned with statues and paintings "by a Florentine hand". Pg. 44 ed. Schmarsow, Heilbronn, 1886.

⁵ Cf. Alphanus, *l. c.* p. 86, with Hare, *l. c.*

Barbo, entrusted the erection of a monument to his memory to Mino da Fiesole, one of the great sculptors of his age, and remarkable for refinement of feeling and execution. Mino, with whom are said to have worked Isaia da Pisa and Giovanni di Dalmata and others, finished his work in 1477¹. The monument, the finest of the Middle Ages, erected in St. Peter's against the outer left wall not far from the transept, and then in 1544 transferred to the eastern portion² of the basilica, was most unfortunately broken up in the days of Paul V. Remnants of it were taken to the Vatican Crypt³.

Once again, of the entire monument we have designs not only by Ciacconius and Grimaldi but also by Girolamo Ferrari, a Genoese artist who lived in Rome under Gregory XIII (1572-85) and by another artist, who is said to be Benedetto da Rovezzano⁴.

In this case there is substantial agreement between them; but the extant remains in the Crypt and in the chapel of the Pietà of St. Peter's and in the Louvre⁵ show that the design in Ciacconius is more accurate than that of Grimaldi. From the former design, and from the remains of the monuments, Perkins⁶ gives the following description of it: "It consisted of a recumbent figure of the Pope stretched upon a sarcophagus resting on a double base, standing under an arch supported by columns, outside of which were statuettes of the Evangelists in niches. Bas-reliefs of the Last Judgment and the Resurrection filled the lunette and the flat space below it, while winged boys with medallions and garlands, reliefs of Faith, Hope, and Charity, the Creation of Eve and the Temptation, and a profusion of rich ornament combined to give the surface of the tomb a rich and varied effect. Of all its sculptures, only a few fragments remain in

¹ Cf. Venturi, *Storia d'Arte* VI 649 who states that Mino worked with G. D. and other artists, "some better and some worse than himself".

² Where it stood against the right wall not far from the tomb of Nicholas V, as is clear from the design of Grimaldi, *Cod. Barb.* 2733 ff. 124-5.

³ Alpharanus, pp. 74, 97, 155, 189; Grimaldi, *l. c.* f. 185 v ff; and Vasari in his *Life of Mino da F.* The last-named says that the tomb of Paul was one of those pulled down by Bramante, and remained for some years buried among the débris (*fra i calcinacci*) of the old basilica. See especially G. de Nicola, "Il sepolcro di Paolo II", in *Bullet. d'Arte*. II 1908 p. 338 ff.

⁴ The former design is in the *Codex Berolinensis*, c. 82; the latter in the *RR. Gallerie degli Uffizi*, Florence.

⁵ Where there are fragments of the base which show *putti* carrying festoons. See an illustration of such a fragment in E. Müntz, *Hist. de l'art pendant la Renaissance*, I. 531. Cf. p. 575.

⁶ *Hist. Handbook of Ital. Sculpture*, p. 149.

the crypt of the Basilica, such as the mannered bas-relief of the Last Judgment, in which Paul II and the Emperor Frederick III are pointed out to the Redeemer's notice by St. John the Baptist; the Creation of Eve, The Temptation, which is in a sadly mutilated state, and the highly-polished and carefully finished bas-relief of Faith and Charity " ¹. Fortunately the dainty seated figure of Hope is also preserved, but is attributed to Isaia da Pisa. Altogether, it is a very great matter for regret that the mausoleum of Paul II, probably erected from 1475-77 was so ruthlessly destroyed ².

With the tomb of Paul's successor Sixtus IV we have a rever-
sion to the bronze slab tomb of Martin V. On his death, (1484) the body of Sixtus IV was at once laid in the great chapel which he had made for the choir to the south of the basilica of St. Peter's, and his nephew, cardinal Giuliano (afterwards the warrior Pope Julius II) " with greater piety than expense " ³, caused the Florentine Antonio Pollaiuolo to make " a most noble " bronze monument for him (1493). It rested on a base of green Lacedemonian marble, on which were a number of allegorical female figures in bronze representing the Sciences. The pose of these figures is affected to the last degree, and their general want of naturalness is only equalled by their want of sufficient clothing. But, if the figures of Theology and the rest are as unsatisfactory from an artistic point of view, as from that of fitness, the same, most fortunately, is not to be said of the recumbent bronze figure of the Pope. This is so good that it justified the calling of the tomb the " finest mediaeval monument in St. Peter's ". The face, with its deep furrows and its projecting chin, is full of character, and the very veins of the hands have been described as " almost throbbing with warm blood ". On the destruction of the choir chapel, the monument was placed in the new basilica in the Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament where, till recently (1922), it was to be admired ⁴. Then, it is to be regretted, it was removed from

Sixtus IV.

¹ Grimaldi's description of the tomb is printed by E. Müntz in *Les Arts à la cour*, II p. 48-9; he notes that the recumbent figure was " most elegantly finished " and says it shows: " corpulenta facie majestate plena, procerae staturae, ut scribit Platina ".

² Illustrations of these remains may be seen in Dionysius, *l. c.* plates 49; 75 n. 4; 76 n. 8.

³ So says Grimaldi *ap.* Cerrati's ed. of Alpharanus, p. 76 n.

⁴ Cf. Perkins, *Sculpture*, pp. 114--6, Pastor, *Popes*, IV p. 388. When the tomb was removed from the choir chapel, the coffin was opened and in it were found

Innocent
VIII.

St. Peter's altogether, and placed in the adjoining new Museum.

The story of the mausoleum of the next Pope Innocent VIII need not detain us long. It is the same as that of Sixtus IV. During his pontificate, Innocent had restored in St. Peter's an old oratory to our Lady which had been erected by Eugenius III near the west end of the left side of the nave. In it he had placed the head of the spear with which Longinus is said to have pierced the side of our Lord on the Cross, which had been presented to him by the Sultan Bajazet ¹. In the same oratory he caused Antonio Pollaiuolo to make a sepulchral monument for him, which ultimately cost four thousand ducats ²; and in its bronze sarcophagus his body was interred on Jan. 30, 1498 ³. In the course of the demolition of the old basilica, the monument of Innocent was transferred, first to the so-called aisle of the *Sudarium*, i. e., the outer right aisle, and then, after the coffin had been twice opened ⁴, to its present site in the new basilica. It was during the erection of the monument against the pillar in the left aisle where it is now to be seen that it was given its present form. Originally, it would appear not to have been so well balanced as it is to-day, with its three well-marked stages. The lowest one presents the recumbent effigy of the Pope in bronze; the middle one the seated figure of the Pontiff in the same metal, with the right hand raised in the act of benediction, and with the left grasping the head of the Holy Lance. Grouped round him in the shell-shaped niches which we have seen so frequently employed in this age, are the four cardinal virtues. Finally, in the uppermost stage we have Charity in a central medallion with Faith and Hope on each side ⁵ and with the arms of the Pope

a sapphire valued at 30 scudi contemporary pieces of gold and silver money, and a brass (*d'ottone*) medal with the Pope's likeness on the obverse and on the other side the Madonna between St Francis and St Bernardine. Cf. *Cod. Urbin. Lat.* n. 1078 fol. 145-b., ap. Orbaan, p. 82.

¹ Cf. Alpharantus, p. 69, and Pastor, *Popes.*, V. 316.

² Cerrati, notes to Alph., *ib.*, citing Janitschek, *Repert. für Kunstwissenschaft*, III. 84.

³ Cf. Burckard, *Lib. Not.*, ap. *R. I. SS.* new ed I. p. 371 n, citing the *Ricordi* of F. Cibo, and *ib.* Albertini, *l. c.* says that the tomb was erected to Innocent by his nephew, Cardinal Lawrence Cibo.

⁴ Sept. 5. 1606; and Sept. 10, 1621. Cf. notes to Burckard *l. c.* II. p. 72 f. n. 3 for interesting details of the opening of the tomb in 1621, the discovery of a bronze medal giving his true likeness, etc.

⁵ Some regard the crowned woman with children around her in the medallion as "emblematic of Divine Providence". Perkins, *Sculpture*, p. 115; Orbaan. *l. c.* p. 121 from the *Arch. R. Fabbrica* cod. 207 fol. 99 (cf. *ib.* p. 123 from fol. 114 b.)



28. PAUL II, VATICAN GROTTTO, ROME.



29. ALEXANDER VI, FROM *DEPOSITI*, ROME.

[Facing p. 81.

OF THE MIDDLE AGES

in the pediment above her. The mausoleum with its striking combination of bronze and marble is deservedly reckoned among the masterpieces of Florentine art of the period ¹.

Whatever became of the soul of Innocent's successor, Alexander VI ², his body was buried in the round chapel of St. Andrew, outside the southern wall of St. Peter's, and then known as Sta. Maria *de Febribus*. According to Burckard the burial place was "close to the wall in the angle to the left of the altar ³, i. e., the body of Alexander was buried in the same chapel as his uncle Calixtus III but in a different part of it, in the oratory of SS. Cosmas and Damian ⁴. For about a hundred years the body remained in the simple brick vault ⁵ in which it had been originally deposited. It was then placed in the tomb of Calixtus III, and thenceforth shared the fate already narrated of the body of his uncle. It is therefore needless to inquire to whom the tomb assigned to Alexander VI in the *Depositi* really belonged.

Alexander VI.

Alexander VI was succeeded by another Piccolomini Pope who, in honour of his uncle, took the name of Pius III, and who died after a pontificate of two or three weeks. He was buried next to Pius II not far from the entrance of the old basilica, by the southern wall, and, according to Burckard ⁶ in the tomb which he had ordered during his lifetime ⁷. However, as far as the body of the deceased Pope was concerned, it appears to have been first buried in the ground in front of his monument ⁸ which Alpharanus calls "most elegant" and says it was made of Parian marble and gilded, and that it was adorned with a variety of remarkable sculptures ⁹. Like the mausoleum of Pius II and the others of this period, that of Pius III was lofty, rectangular, and divided into oblong stages for bas-reliefs, epitaphs, and the sarcophagus with recumbent figure of the Pope.

Pius III.

has unearthed a curious account for nails "per il ponte per levare Papa Nocentio (VIII)".

¹ It was described by Fichard, *l. c.* in 1536.

² A contemporary, quoted by Pastor, *Popes*, VI. 137, says that he was "sepultus in inferno".

³ *Lib. Not.*, II. 355.

⁴ Alpharanus, p. 159 f.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 144.

⁶ *Ib.*, p. 85.

⁷ Burckard, *l. c.* p. 394.

⁸ *De basilic. Vat.*, p. 191.

⁹ *Ib.*, p. 85.

It was also flanked with broad pilasters, in which were shell-like niches for figures of the saints, and was surmounted by the arms of the deceased pontiff. If the tomb of Pius III is the work of the same sculptors as that of Pius II ¹, their later production was finer than their former. But, as it is so well-known, there is no need for further description of it here. During the last period of the demolition of the old basilica the body of Pius was for a time placed in an ancient sarcophagus which had been found at a considerable depth when the foundations of the new choir were being prepared (1610), and which bore on its front the monogram of Christ. When used as a tomb for Pius, the words "Pius III" were added to the monogram. Finally, in 1614 the "grandiose monuments" of the two Piccolomini Popes were transferred to St. Andrea della Valle by Cardinal Alexandro Peretti, and that of Pius III was placed opposite to that of his uncle at the end of the nave near the transepts ².

Conclusion.

We have now reached a decisive turning-point in the history of the papal sepulchral monuments. Pius III was the last Pope to whom a mausoleum was erected in old St. Peter's. The tombs of his successors are to be found to day where they were originally erected, i. e., for the most part in the new basilica of St. Peter's. No monuments were erected to Julius III, Marcellus II, Innocent IX, Clement XI, Innocent XIII, and Pius VI. Clement XI lies buried beneath a slab in the basilica of St. Peter itself, whereas the other five have simple sarcophagi in its Crypt, although there is in the Confession of St. Peter the magnificent statue of Pius VI by Canova. But, as we have said, all the modern sepulchral monuments that were ever erected, from that of Julius II down to that of Benedict XV in the crypt of St. Peter's (many of them by the greatest masters, by Michael Angelo, by Giacomo della Porta, by Algardi, by Bernini, by Canova and Thorwaldsen) are to be seen in the different churches in Rome in which they were originally placed. In this connection it must be noted that the Dominican Pope, Benedict XIII, was originally buried in St. Peter's (1730). But, as he had often expressed a wish to be buried in Sta. Maria sopra Minerva, his successor, Clement XII, gave permission for the translation of his remains to that Church of his Order. Accordingly, with great solemnity the body of the deceased

¹ Vasari, in his *Life* of Paolo Romano assigns the tombs of both Pius II and Pius III to Niccolo della Guardia and Pietro Paulo da Todì.

² Alpharanus l. c. Cf *La chiesa di S. Andrea della Valle*, by A. Boni, Rome, 1907.

OF THE MIDDLE AGES

Pope was transported to the Dominican Church on Feb. 22, 1733¹.

Most of the modern papal tombs are in St. Peter's², but the Lateran can boast three or four, as can also Sta. Maria Maggiore, and Sta. Maria sopra Minerva, while S. Lorenzo-fuori-le-mura, Sta. Maria degli Angeli, and a few other churches have each one papal mausoleum. On all these there is no need to expatiate. They are easily accessible, there is nothing complicated in their history, and they are described in the ordinary guide-books. They have for the most part this in common — an heroic figure of the Pope imparting his blessing "urbi et orbi".

Casting a glance back at the earlier papal tombs, the designs of which are known to us, and which we have passed in review, we see that, excluding those which have been erected since the destruction of the old basilica commenced, they may be divided into five groups.

The monuments of the first three centuries consisted of plain marble slabs which covered the tombs "near the body of St. Peter", or which closed the *loculi* or box-shaped excavations in the soft rock of the catacombs, and which bore generally in Greek characters the simple name of the Pope. Then from the third to the twelfth or thirteenth century, as far as we can know from the few examples that have come down to us, the papal sepulchral monuments consisted, for the most part, either of ancient pagan sarcophagi, or, no doubt generally, of carved marble Christian sarcophagi usually showing our Lord giving the scroll of the Law to St. Peter, who is carrying his cross, and having on or near them an epitaph in verse recounting some of the deeds of the deceased Pontiff, and begging for him the prayers of all who had read it. Occasionally even antique basins and imperial sarcophagi were used. In the thirteenth century, the great advance then effected in every branch of art made itself manifest also in the mausoleums of the Popes. The development of Gothic architecture in the rest of Europe reacted on Italy, and the papal *Cosmati* tombs of that century showed something of the perfection of Gothic ornamental forms, combined with the Italian feeling for colour. Recumbent figures beneath Gothic canopies bear evidence to the

¹ Cf. the little pamphlet *Distinto racconto della traslazione del corpo di P. Benedetto XIII.* Rome, 1733.

² There are twenty papal monuments in the present basilica, of which that of Innocent VIII came from the old basilica. About them it may be stated in general that, while those of the sixteenth century are splendid, those of the seventeenth and eighteenth are inferior.

improvement of sculpture. During the "Babylonish captivity" of the fourteenth century the monuments of the Avignon Popes were frankly Gothic, resembling the Gothic cathedral, or, more exactly, the Gothic relic-case. Finally, from the re-establishment of the papal authority in Rome under Martin V to the destruction of the ancient basilica of St. Peter under Julius II, there is a decided uniformity of plan in the designs of the tombs of the Popes. Remarkable for an increase in size, they display an oblong, rather flat surface of marble divided into three main sections, flanked by two broad pilasters with niches for statues. Their greatly enhanced proportions sprang from the renewed study of the colossal monuments of classical Rome; and they were to be followed by others which would prove that their designers had also mastered that power possessed by the ancient artists of Greece and Rome of impressing upon stone and marble the beauty and dignity of the human form.



30. PIUS III, CHURCH OF S. ANDREA DELLA VALLE, ROME.

[Facing p. 84.]



31. PIUS XI.

[Facing p. 85.]

PORTRAITS OF THE POPES

Seeing that during the twelfth century and subsequently, the *Siena*. sepulchral monuments of the Popes generally present us with their sculptured likenesses¹, it is quite natural that a chapter on the *Tombs of the Popes* should be followed by one on the *Portraits of the Popes*.

Of late years it would appear that the subject of Papal Iconography has been singularly neglected; nor as far as we are aware has the subject been at all exhaustively treated in any monograph. Yet if its claim to importance calls for justification, it should suffice to quote the following passage in which J. A. Symonds records the impression made upon him by the busts of the Popes which adorn the walls of the Duomo of Siena :

'One most remarkable feature' he wrote 'of the Duomo of Siena is a line of heads of the Popes carried all round the church above the lower arches. Larger than life, white solemn faces, they lean each from his separate niche, crowned with the triple tiara, and labelled with the name he bore. Their accumulated majesty brings the whole past history of the Church into the presence of its living members. A bishop walking up the nave of Siena must feel as a Roman felt among the waxen images of ancestors renowned in council or in war. Of course these portraits are imaginary for the most part, but the artists have contrived to vary their features and expression with great skill.' (2)

¹ Portraits in connection with tombs were very common in antiquity. This fact has recently been brought home to the public at large by the striking discovery of the tomb of Pharaoh Tutankamen. See also the tomb of Noevoleia Tyche, Gell's *Pompeiana*, pp. 68. Cf. pp. 69 and 77.

² *Sketches in Italy*, p. 39, ed. Tauchnitz. 1882.

It is admitted that these busts were all formed on four or five models merely for decorative purposes; and so slight is their artistic or historical value that their removal was once under consideration. Yet if the sight of them could so move the author of the *History of the Renaissance in Italy*, it is obvious that an inquiry into the authenticity of other series which are of greater authority might produce results of considerable historical significance. For, though the fact does not appear to be generally known, there are in Rome and other cities of Italy several more or less complete series of likenesses of the Popes, which we will examine in order.

Papal Portraits: in the Archivium of St. Peter's.

In the library of the Archivium of St. Peter's in Rome there is a small modern series of oil paintings of all those Popes who had at one time been canons of St. Peter's. This collection also is of no particular value. The portraits of the more recent Pontiffs, authentic it is true but not striking works of art, may be seen elsewhere, and those of the more remote ones are devoid of any great interest as they have no special claim to consideration on historic or artistic grounds¹.

In St. Pier in Grado.

Of more importance is the series in the fine old church of S. Pier in Grado, a few miles outside the city of Pisa by the banks of the Arno. As its name shows us, this church was dedicated to St. Peter, and those who adorned it resolved to make it a miniature replica of the old basilica of St. Peter's in Rome. From the copies of the frescoes in the atrium of the Roman St. Peter's which Grimaldi has left us, we see that the artists who frescoed the walls of the Pisan St. Peter's copied the scenes from the lives of the apostles which were displayed in the basilica of St. Peter in Rome. It was obvious that the resemblance between the two churches would be further strengthened if S. Pier in Grado also had a series of papal portraits copied from those in Rome². Accordingly, when the ancient basilica

¹ Similarly with regard to such small collections as the series of ten mosaic medallions of Popes in the Church of St. Agnes outside-the-walls. If they have artistic worth they have no historic interest. Much more of the latter have the frescoes in the gallery to the right of the old Vatican library—frescoes illustrating what Nicholas V., Sixtus IV., Paul V., Pius VI. and Pius VII. did for the Library and for Rome generally; and much more of the former the series of Popes in the Sistine chapel. Cf. Steinmann, *Die Sixtinische Kapelle*. p. 197. Nor is any historic value to be attached to the series in stucco of the early Popes in the vestibule of St. Peter's.

² Cf. *Gli Affreschi di S. Pier in G.* by Dr. P. D'Achiardi, Rome, 1905; and Frothingham, *The Monuments of Christian Rome*, p. 381.

OF THE MIDDLE AGES

(the name of which recalled the tradition of the landing of St. Peter in the neighbourhood) was decorated in the thirteenth century, the scheme included a set of medallions of the Popes. These, extending from St. Peter, certainly to John XIV († 985), some ninety-six in all, were placed in the frieze above the columns of the nave, and presented a series, not, however, consecutive, of portraits of Popes who reigned from the first to the eleventh century. Seemingly in the course of the fourteenth century there were added the portraits of John XXII, Benedict XII and Clement VI who reigned from 1305 to 1352. As the style and execution of these frescoes are inferior, they do not contribute much to history or to art ¹.

They are, however, not altogether devoid of authority, for, along with the scenes above them depicting episodes from the story of the lives of SS. Peter and Paul, they were copied from the frescoes in old St. Peter's before its destruction. With what degree of accuracy they were copied it is impossible to say, but a comparison between the existing drawings by Grimaldi of the scenes from the lives of the Apostles with the corresponding frescoes of St. Pier in Grado show that the latter at any rate were copied with no little accuracy ².

A complete, but much more recent series exists in the little town *In Oriolo*. of Oriolo not far from Sutri. Its ancient palazzo was in the year 1671 acquired by Prince Altieri. In that year an Altieri, in the person of Clement X, sat in the chair of Peter (1670-6), and he presented to his nephew copies of the portraits of the Popes in the basilica of St. Paul's outside-the-walls. The Prince enlarged the palace at Oriolo, and built a long gallery especially to receive the portraits. His descendants have continued the series up to our own times. As a whole, this large collection of portraits in oil is in very good condition, though a few of them are fading; and, after the fire which destroyed St. Paul's in 1823, it was used as one of the sources from which the series in the new Pauline basilica was formed. By the side of each of the portrait busts at Oriolo are inscribed the name of the Pope, the dates of his accession and death, and certain facts regarding his Pontificate taken from the *Liber Pontificalis* and

¹ Cf. J. B. Supino, *Arte Pisana*, p. 4 ff. and 257 ff. Firenze, 1904. Our illustration is from a photograph made by the Ministry of Public Instruction in Italy.

² Cf. Dr. P. D'Achiardi, *Gli affreschi di S. Pier a Grado*, Rome, 1905.

other authorities. Moreover, though armorial bearings did not come into general use till the twelfth century¹, all the Popes, including St. Peter, are supplied with coats of arms. In like manner, although the ecclesiastical pallium was not known before the sixth century, all the Popes are represented as wearing it. This last fact, together with the fact that Pope Sylvester (314-337) is represented wearing a tiara with one crown², would seem to show that the earlier portraits were copied from the lower series in St. Paul's painted by order of Nicholas III in the thirteenth century³. It will then be seen that these earlier portraits which, like the rest, are life-sized and well painted, have no more historical value than the series executed by Nicholas. Those after the time of that Pontiff (1277-81) have practically the same degree of authenticity as that possessed by the series in St. Paul's of which we shall speak at length presently⁴.

In Marino.

In the little town of Marino in the Alban Hills there is preserved in the ancient palazzo of the Colonna family (now used as the Municipio of the town), a collection of oil paintings which give in chronological order life-size portrait busts of all the Popes, says Oreste Raggi⁵, from St. Peter to the reigning pontiff, Gregory XVI (1831-46). He also states that the collection was much increased in value in consequence of the fire at St. Paul's (1823). It is in its general characteristics much the same as that at Oriolo, and, like it, derives what importance it has from the fact that it was copied from the series at St. Paul's before it was burnt to the ground⁶.

In Rome.

At one time there were in Rome three extensive series of papal portraits. There was one in old St. Peter's, another in St. John Lateran, and the third, the most famous of all, on which our study mainly turns, in St. Paul's outside-the-walls.

*Old
St. Peter's.*

Of the series in the old Constantinian basilica of St. Peter's no

¹ The oldest coat of arms known that of Desiderio, abbot of Montecassino, afterwards Pope Victor III. (1086-7) — has recently been discovered in the older church of S. Crisogono in Rome. Pasini-Frassoni in *Rivista Araldica*, 1914, 419; quoted in *Nuovo Bull. Arch. Crist.* xxi. (1915), 64). T. A.

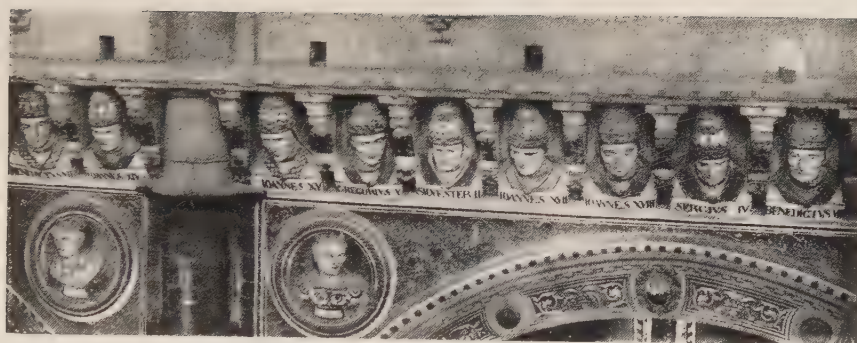
² The Popes did not wear a crown till centuries after the time of Sylvester I.

³ Of this series more will be said in the sequel.

⁴ Cf. G. Tomassetti, *La Campagna Romana*, iii. p. 88.

⁵ *Sui Colli Albani e Tusculani*, p. 230. Rome 1844.

⁶ In the MS. of vol. iv. of the work quoted in the last note but one shown me by its author, who is continuing his father's authoritative volumes on the Roman Campagna, Sig. F. Tomassetti states that in his opinion, if the collection at Marino is not so well preserved, it is more valuable, because more beautiful than that at Oriolo.



32. PAPAL BUSTS IN THE DUOMO AT SIENA.

[Facing p. 83.



33. PAPAL PORTRAITS IN S. PIER IN GRADO.

specimens are known to exist now; but the antiquaries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Alfarano, Grimaldi and Ciampini, who described the ancient church, have left us a number of notes regarding them. At what date portraits of Popes began to be used to decorate the walls of Constantine's basilica below the Vatican hill does not appear to be known for certain. But it would seem that John VII (705-8), a name well known in the history of art in Rome, was certainly responsible for the painting of a number of papal portraits in the Eternal City, and so possibly in St. Peter's¹. However this may be, it is certain that a most important series in the old basilica was the work of Pope Formosus (891-6),² who, as bishop of Porto, was so beloved by the Bulgarians. The series of Formosus was painted in fresco above the cornice. It was briefly described by Grimaldi before its destruction by Paul V in 1607 in the course of the erection of the present wonderful structure on the site of the old basilica³. According to this same antiquarian, Benedict XII had had thoughts of restoring it with the aid of Giotto, but had been prevented by death from doing much in the way of renovation⁴. Chronological inscriptions had originally accompanied the portraits, but, unfortunately, only a few could be deciphered by Grimaldi. He could only read: "Siricius sedit an. xv. m. v. d. xx.", and one or two more; but both he and Ciampini have left us designs showing exactly where the portrait medallions were situated⁵.

To the series of Pope Formosus, one of his successors, Nicholas III (1277-81), who during his short pontificate caused a considerable amount of artistic work to be executed, added a third. Ptolemy of Lucca tells us that he almost renewed St. Peter's, and painted therein,

¹ Of him we read in the *Liber Pontificalis* (i. p. 385, ed. Duchesne) that he made 'imagines' in various churches, and left portraits of himself in St. Peter's and elsewhere. 'Quicumque nosse desiderat in eis ejus vultum depictum reperiet.' Cf. Marangoni, *Chron. Rom. Pont.* p. v. Rome, 1751.

² According to the very uncultured chronicler, Benedict of Soracte: 'Renovavit Formosus Papa ecclesia principis apostolorum pictura tota.' *Ap. Mon. Germ. Hist.* ii. 714 or Watterich, *Vit. Pont. Rom.* i. 80, or ed. Zucchetti, Rome, 1920.

³ Some believe that the series copied by Grimaldi was a series made by Pope S. Leo I. Cf. R. van Marle *La Peinture romaine au Moyen-Age*, p. 19, Strasbourg, 1921.

⁴ Cf. E. Müntz. *Recherches sur le MSS. de J. Grimaldi*, p. 247 ff.

⁵ Cf. Ciampini, *De sacris aedificiis*, Tav. XI. p. 34, in which the letters A. B. C. D. show the position of the portraits above the cornice. See also Tav. X. in the same work (reproduced in Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 134).

as well as in St. John Lateran and St. Paul's, a series of papal portraits ¹.

When the present Vatican basilica was begun, the western portion of the old Church was the first to be demolished under Pope Julius II (1503-13); but a temporary wall was subsequently erected by Paul III, about half-way down the nave by the eleventh column, and the eastern portion was kept for divine worship during the whole of the sixteenth century. Now the lower series of portraits painted to the order of Nicholas III, the one immediately above the capitals of the columns, began with that of Pius I (158-167) on the wall on the right as one entered the basilica near the temporary wall and the high altar. On this side were eleven portraits from Pius I to Cornelius (254-5), the portrait of Pope Anicetus being omitted ². After observing that the portrait of Cornelius was above "the African column", Grimaldi, to whom we owe this description, says that on the eastern wall, *i. e.*, on the interior of the façade, were the portraits of the successors of Cornelius, namely, those of Lucius I and of his eight immediate successors. "Above another column of African marble" was to be seen the portrait of Pope Eusebius which began the series on the left side wall of the nave. It finished with the bust of Anastasius I (399-402). Our antiquarian adds that all the Popes to Sylvester I were depicted as bareheaded, but that that Pope and those after him were depicted as wearing a tiara with a single crown. All, too, were represented with a round halo with the exception of Pope Liberius (352-366) who was given a square one in order to show that he was not regarded as a saint ³. With the further observation

¹ 'Hic ecclesiam b. Petri quasi totam renovavit, et numerum Summorum Pontificum fecit describi secundum imagines, in ecclesia b. Petri in loco eminenti et b. Pauli ac S. Joannis de Laterano.' *Hist. Eccles.* I, xxiii, c. 28, ap. *Rer. Ital. Script.* t. xi, p. 1180. Cf. Alfaro, *De basil. Vat. struct.* p. 20, Rome, 1914.

² Cf. the description of Grimaldi, ap. MS. *Cod. Barb. Lat.* n. 2733, fol. 106 v. ff. According to R. van Marle, *La Peinture romaine au Moyen-Age*, p. 19, Strasbourg, 1921, there were in old St. Peter's medallion spaces for the portraits of 138 Popes. There were also papal portraits in the adjoining round chapel of S. Maria de Febribus. Cf. Alpharano, *l. c.*, p. 143.

³ From the fact that Liberius has a square nimbus, Lanciani (*Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 209) concludes that at least a part of this series was painted when Liberius (by a printer's error called Tiberius) was Pope. But the use of the square nimbus to denote a living person did not come into vogue in the West till the close of the sixth century, and it is here given to Liberius to show that he was not a saint, and yet at the same time to conform to the custom of the age of putting some mark round portrait heads in churches. Cf. Grüneisen, *Le Portrait*, p. 88.

OF THE MIDDLE AGES

of the antiquarian canon of old St. Peter's to the effect that in the upper and more ancient series all the Popes were depicted with uncovered heads and the round nimbus, we may cease any further discussion of the papal portraits in that venerable basilica. Even if many of them were real likenesses, they can be of no service to us now as not even copies of them have been preserved.

The same has to be said of the series painted by Nicholas III in the basilica of St. John Lateran. During the residence of the Popes at Avignon (1305-78) — a period as disastrous to the artistic as to the civil life of Rome — the famous basilica was twice burnt (1308 and 1361)¹. The two conflagrations were followed by restorations: and the third and last reconstruction under Innocent X in 1644 destroyed all hope of our being able to study the series of portraits in St. John Lateran. Hence as far back as 1576, N. Alemanni when speaking of such likenesses of Popes as he had seen in the Lateran makes no mention of any series of papal portraits²; and even before the restoration of Borromini (1599-1667), Panvinio not merely fails to speak of any such series, but observes that many of the pictures in the basilica and in its porticoes had faded³.

St. John
Lateran.

Hitherto we have been considering different series of papal portraits that are either incomplete or have obviously no claim to be regarded as authentic. There is, however, a series, that at St. Paul's, which is, at least, absolutely complete, embracing all the Popes from St. Peter to Pope Benedict XV, and which may be called official.

St. Paul's.

In gazing at this long line of portrait medallions, one naturally wonders whether the features at which one looks are really those of the Popes to whom they are there assigned, or whether they are merely the creations of artists' fancies. At least there can be

¹ Cf. *Ep. Clement. V.* ap. *Bullar. Rom.* iv. 186, ed. Turin; G. Villani, viii. 97 and Mat. Villani, x. 69. See Rohault de Fleury, *Le Latran*, § 52 and § 56, Paris, 1877; and Lauer, *Le palais Latran*, p. 242-50, and 260-2.

² *De Lateranensibus Parictinis*, p. 26, Rome, 1756.

³ *Sette Chiese*, p. 149, Rome, 1570. F. Cancellieri, *Cod. Vat. Lat.* n. 9672, f. 45, says that Pope Paschal I. (817-24) painted a series of papal portraits in the Church of Sta. Cecilia above the capitals of the columns from St. Peter to his own time; and there was once in the Church of Sta. Pudenziana a series from St. Peter to Cornelius. Cf. L. Giampaoli, *Il nuovo prospetto di S. Pudenziana*, p. 44 (Rome, 1872). Hence it is thought probable that there was a series of papal portraits in most, if not in all, of the early Roman churches. The MS. of Cancellieri (writing in 1816) just cited, a manuscript far from easy to read, speaks of a collection of papal portraits in a Vatican Codex by Mgr. "Perica (?)". I cannot trace the name.

no doubt at least that the portraits from Martin V (1417-31) onwards are genuine. Although, as we shall see more fully presently, only the mosaics from Leo XII (1823-9) are contemporary with the Popes they depict, the artists who after 1823 made the present series of portraits in St. Paul's had abundance of reliable material for the Pontiffs of that period to work with. From the time of Martin V papal portraits, executed in every variety of material and style¹, have come down to us from the contemporary brush or chisel of the greatest masters. Their likenesses, certainly since his days, have not merely, as in the previous ages, been frescoed on walls, and wrought in marble, but, with the more expressive colours in oil, they have been committed to canvas, and before the close of the century the art of the engraver had begun to place papal portraits within the reach of the many. Marc Antonio Raimondi, the finest of Italian engravers, who may have been born as early as 1470 (1488?), engraved the portraits of several Popes². When the artists of the last century had such models as "Sixtus IV", by Melozzo da Forli, "Alexander VI" by Pinturicchio, "Julius II" by Raphael, "Paul III" by Titian, and "Innocent X" by Velasquez, we need have no fear that the medallions in St. Paul's do not tell us truly what manner of men have been the Popes since the fifteenth century³. From Martin V, too, the authentic series of papal medals begins. Under that Pontiff worked Antonio (generally, but wrongly, spoken

¹ To the sources for the more modern portraits of the Popes mentioned in the text we may add their effigies on their coins, and engravings which came into vogue during the century of Martin V. Among the many plates of the well-known Italian engraver, C. B. Cavalieri (b. 1525 (?), d. at Rome. 1601) was a series of heads of the Popes which was first published in 1580. As he reproduced what existing pictures he could find, it is believed that he has occasionally at least saved for us an authentic portrait of a Pope who lived long before his time. For his Popes of the first centuries, he, like most of the early artists, copied the lower accessible series of portraits painted in old St. Peter's and St. Paul's by Nicholas III. The anonymous Italian copper-plate engraver who signed his plates with the initials AR Z, and who lived in the second half of the sixteenth century, also published many good engravings at the very end of that age of various Popes (Nagler, *Monogrammisten*, i. No. 1217).

² R. E. Graves, *Dictionary of Painters and Engravers*, London, 1902, *sub voce* Raimondi, gives a list of nine papal portraits engraved by him. The first he gives is Pius II (1458-64), and the last Clement VII. The portrait of Julius II is not included. Cf. B. Delessert, *Notice sur M. A. R.*, Paris, 1853.

³ Much has been written about the portraits of these modern Popes. Cf., e. g., C. Ricci in *L'Arte*, 1916, p. 163 ff., "Statue e busti di Sisto V"; P. Piccolomini, *Il ritratto di Pio II*, Rome, 1903.



FELIX II



SIRICIUS



INNOCENT I



PELAGIUS I.



LEO III.



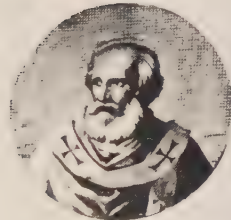
GREGORY IV.



HONORIUS III



GREGORY IX



NICHOLAS III.



HONORIUS IV.



NICHOLAS IV.



BONIFACE VIII.



BENEDICT XII.



CLEMENT VI.



URBAN V.



URBAN VI.

34. SPECIMEN PORTRAITS FROM MOSAICS IN ST. PAUL'S OUTSIDE-THE-WALLS.

[Facing p. 92.



35. PAPAL MEDALLIONS IN OLD ST. PAUL'S
(FROM ROSSINI, *ANTICHITÀ ROMANE*).

[Facing p. 93.]

OF THE MIDDLE AGES

of as Vittore) Pisanello, if not the first, certainly the greatest of modern medallists; and we are assured by Vasari, on the authority of Giovio, that he made a medal of Martin himself¹. Unfortunately it is not now in existence, and some believe that Giovio was mistaken in ascribing his medal of Martin V to Pisanello². However it may be as to the medals of Martin V and Eugenius IV, medals of their successor, Nicholas V by his contemporary, Guazzalotti, are extant; and even if other original medals of the Quattrocento, besides those of Martin V and Eugenius IV, have been lost, we have those of G. Paladino. About the end of the sixteenth century he produced a complete series of medals from Martin V to Pius V († 1572)³. In striking his series he used as models the original contemporary medals or authentic copies of them, "so that his pieces, as far at least as the likeness of the portrait is concerned, deserve consideration"⁴. For Martin V, too, Paladino had not only an authentic medal to work from, but also a large statue of him made for Milan Cathedral by Jacopino da Tradate⁵, and the portrait of him which Facio says that Gentile di Fabriano painted "to the very life"⁶. For the likeness of Eugenius IV the successor of Martin V, there was at his service his portrait by the French artist, Jean Fouquet, and for both these Popes he had their finely sculptured recumbent figures upon their tombs — that of Martin V in St. John Lateran, and that of Eugenius IV in S. Salvatore in Lauro by Isaia of Pisa⁶. Similar

¹ See Vasari's *Life of Pisanello*. Giovio asserts that he had the medal in his possession.

² Cf. G. F. Hill, *Pisanello*, London, 1903, and Venturi's ed. of Vasari's *Pisanello*, p. 71, Firenze, 1896.

³ The British Museum series of papal medals begins with that of Martin V, whose medal is the first given in such books as the *Trésor de Numismatique, Médailles des Papes*, Paris, 1878, and *Numismata Pont. Rom.* by P. Bonanni, Rome, 1699, which give reproductions of authentic medals only.

⁴ C. von Fabriczy, *Italian Medals*, ed. Hamilton, p. 195, London, 1904. The coarse castings of the Popes from St. Peter to Martin V, said to have been made by the Milanese, Giovanni Battista Pozzi, are of no value whatever for portraiture. Cf. Hergenroether and Stroehl, *Album Pontificale*, p. 7, Gladbach, 1909, and G. F. Hill, "The Roman medalists of the Renaissance", pg. 16 ap. *Papers of the British School of Rome*, 1920.

⁵ Cf. Michel, *Hist. de l'Art*, iv. pt. ii. p. 176. Venturi in his ed. of Vasari's *Life of Gentile*, p. 19, Florence, 1896, gives this quotation from Facio's *De viris illust.*, Florence, 1745. There was also the portrait by Masaccio. Cf. Vasari, ii. p. 294, ed. Milanese.

⁶ Cf. Geffroy, *Les ruines de Rome*, pp. 373, 386 n. See R. F. von Lichtenberg, *Das porträt an Grabdenkmäler*, Strassburg, 1902.

facts could be given regarding all the successors of Martin V to our own days, so that we may be sure that the mosaics of the Popes in St. Paul's from that Pontiff to Benedict XV present us with their true likenesses.

The Fres-
coes of old
St. Paul's.

But what is to be said of the authenticity of the portraits from St. Peter to John XXIII and Gregory XII, the last two Popes of the great Schism, the predecessors of Martin V? To reply to this difficult query, we must begin by first considering the papal portraits in old St. Paul's, upon which all question of the authenticity of the earlier portraits of the present series mainly turns. As in old St. Peter's so also, as we have already noted, in old St. Paul's there was a series of papal medallions; and, when in 1823 the latter venerable basilica was burnt down, this series of portraits in fresco or in mosaic from St. Peter to Pius VII (1800-1823) was complete ¹. As also in old St. Peter's, some of these medallions were immediately above the capitals of the column, while the older ones were above the cornice. Fortunately, before the fire, copies had been made of some of the medallions in the seventeenth century, and of all of them in the eighteenth. In the seventeenth century (1634) copies of seventy-eight portraits of the upper series from Linus to Vitalian were made by Grimaldi to the order of Cardinal F. Barberini, nephew of Pope Urban VIII. They are now to be found in *Codex Barberini Lat. n. 4407*, in the Vatican library. In the same codex are also copies of forty portraits of the lower series of Nicholas III from Anacletus to Boniface I. Over a century later, Marangoni published copies of all the portraits, but unfortunately, very inaccurately ².

After the fire in 1823, it was discovered that forty-two of the medallions of the upper series on the south wall were to a greater or less extent uninjured. They were the portraits from St. Peter to Innocent I inclusive. Four medallions of the lower series above the capitals of the columns were also left uninjured; but as the inscriptions that belonged to them were destroyed, it seems to be impossible now to decide to which Popes they should be assigned. Mgr. Wilpert in

¹ All the portraits were in fresco up to Benedict XIV, and in mosaic from that Pontiff to Pius VII, as I am told by Dom C. Villani, one of the monks of St. Paul's, who got his information from older monks who were acquainted with the basilica before it was destroyed by fire.

² *Chronologia Rom. Pont.* Rome, 1751. He was primarily interested in chronology, and not in portraiture. The copies made in the same century, and now kept at Oriolo and Marino, have already been described.

his latest work has given photographic reproductions of all the four, and, from four consecutive copies in *Codex Barberini*, 4407, has identified them as portraits of Anacletus, Alexander I, Sixtus I and Telesphorus¹. But it is difficult to see any resemblance between the Barberini copy of Pope Anacletus and the portrait assigned to him by Wilpert. His conjecture as to the portrait which he assigns to Pope Alexander may be correct. With regard to the remaining two originals which he assigns to Sixtus I and Telesphorus, we note that there are no crosses depicted upon their palliums. Now in the copies only two Popes are given palliums without crosses. These are Victor I and Callistus I, and so these two may be the Popes whose portraits Wilpert has assigned to Sixtus I and Telesphorus. But it must be confessed that this detail of the crosses on the palliums is but slight; and so, in view of the difficulty of detecting a resemblance between the originals and any of the copies, it is safer to say that it is impossible to identify these four portraits now in the museum of the monastery of St. Paul's.

All the forty-six portraits that were not destroyed by the fire were cleverly transferred from the wall on to canvas by Pellegrino Succi in 1825, and then re-transferred to plaster. Afterwards the larger ones were erected by De Rossi in one of the corridors of the adjoining monastery. Unfortunately, in the course of the process of detachment or soon after its completion two of the forty-two large portraits perished, namely, those of Eleutherius (177-192) and Dionysius (259-269). Hence, though now in the corridor there are forty-one plaques, 1.34 metres square, one is quite blank, so that there are only forty portraits, and of the portrait of St. Peter only half of the face is now to be seen².

The Monastery of St. Paul's.

With the aid of the inscriptions which accompanied the portraits, De Rossi was able to identify and so to place in their proper chronological order thirty-four out of the forty. But, owing to the illegib-

¹ Jos. Wilpert, *Die Römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der Kirchlichen Bauten*, vol. ii. pp. 518-9, Figs. 214-7, Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1916. We may note here that in vol. iv. Fig. 219 ff. there are a number of *coloured* engravings of the original forty portraits in St. Paul's. By some mistake, surely, the portraits after Telesphorus are assigned to Pope Formosus.

² Cf. Dom C. Villani, *Breve descrizione di S. Paolo*, p. 26 f. Rome, 1900. The portraits on the plaques, including the background within the circles that surround them, are about 90 centimetres broad and 100 centimetres long. The faces of the portraits are about twice the natural size.

ility of some of the inscriptions, it cannot be said that numbers 29, 32, 33, 37 and 39 have been certainly identified with Popes Caius, Eusebius, Melchiades, Liberius and Damasus respectively. Moreover, while it is certain that the two portraits numbered 36 and 38 are those of Julius I and Felix II, it is uncertain which of the two should be assigned to Julius and which to Felix ¹.

The lower series of portraits from Anacletus to Boniface I painted by Nicholas III, even if they were originally copied faithfully from the one above, obviously need not detain us. Of the originals only the four unidentified ones just mentioned are now extant, and the Barberini portraits, as inaccurate copies of copies, are of no account as likenesses. We call them inaccurate copies, because one cannot but suppose that they have not faithfully reproduced the features of portraits, when they have not even faithfully reproduced their garments. They have not merely added a circular nimbus to the heads they have copied, but also an ecclesiastical pallium adorned with crosses, to the garments. Suffice it then to add that even in Marangoni's time these medallions were in poor condition owing to the falling away of the plaster ², and that Nicholas III got the number of forty-eight portraits by placing one over each of the forty columns of the nave and eight on the west wall.

Although the portrait of Innocent I is the last of the early original papal medallions in old St. Paul's now extant, we possess Grimaldi's copies of the lost ones up to Pope Vitalian. We are not, however, in possession of any specific statement as to when the series or any part of it was painted. Nevertheless, it would seem certain that it cannot have been commenced later than the fifth century. Among Grimaldi's copies there appears, after the portrait of Pope Symmachus (498-514), that of a certain Laurentius (505-6). Now as this man was an antipope who for a brief period held against the last-named Pontiff all the great basilicas in Rome except St. Peter's, it cannot be doubted that his portrait was painted whilst he had control of St. Paul's, and that the portraits of the Popes before his

¹ *Bullettino di Arch. Crist.* 1870, pp. 123-4. From this uncertainty the reader will perceive that the Barberini copies are not sufficiently accurate to enable them to be used to clear up a doubtful identification.

² Writing eight years before the burning of St. Paul's Nicolai, *Della Basilica di S. Paolo* p. 30, Rome, 1815, also calls attention to the deplorable state of these frescoes, and says that it was recently decided to obliterate some of those on the south wall and to begin a new series with 'the present Pope, Pius VII'.

OF THE MIDDLE AGES

time cannot be later than his pseudo-pontificate. Moreover, as it is scarcely probable that, in his short and troubled reign, he had leisure to inaugurate the whole series, it is natural to look for an earlier Pope as its author. Between the date of the building of St. Paul's and that of the pontificate of Laurentius, the only Pope whom history connects with the fabric of the basilica is Leo I (440-461). Of him the *Liber Pontificalis* records not only that he repaired the famous church, but also that he caused paintings to be executed therein¹. An extant inscription restored by De Rossi connects his name with the mosaic that covered the facade of old St. Peter's². Taking into account also the sentiments of love and veneration for St. Peter and his successors to which Leo has given expression, we cannot be far wrong in saying that that great Pontiff had some connexion with the papal portraits we are now discussing. If he did not inaugurate the series, he doubtless continued it down to his own day.

The custom of placing the portraits of bishops in their cathedral churches had been introduced at least a century before Leo's time. Merocles († 315), the first bishop of Milan known by authentic documents, is believed to have commenced this custom by putting into his cathedral the portrait of the first of its bishops, Anatolius (c. A.D. 55), of whom tradition had preserved the name³. Moreover, a mosaic pavement recently discovered at Aquileia, which lies about 1.50 metre below the level of the eleventh century basilica, and is shown by a dated inscription to belong to the time of bishop Theodore (who, it is known, subscribed a document of the year 314) contains four mosaic portraits⁴. And what is much more to our point is this fact that certainly, not long after this period,

*The Custom
of placing
portraits in
churches.*

¹ Vol. i. p. 239, ed. Duchesne.

² It ran thus :

Marinianus Vir. Inl. Ex. PF. praet. et Cons. Ord.
Cum Anastasia Inl. Fem. ejus debita vota
Beatissimo Petro Apostolo persolvit
Quae precibus Papae Leonis mei
Provocata sunt atque perfecta."

Ap. Duchesne, *l. c.* p. CCXXVII. Marinianus, with his wife Anastasia paid his vows to the most blessed Apostle Peter, which were inspired and executed at the instance of Pope Leo.

³ Cf. Garrucci, *Storia dell'arte crist.* i. 437. One of his successors, Laurentius (490-512), caused portraits of himself and four of his predecessors to be put in the church of S. Nazarius. Cf. De Rossi, *Inscript. crist.* ii. p. 178, n.

⁴ *Nuovo bullett. di arch. crist.* 1910, pp. 162-5. Cf. C. Constantini, *Aquileia e Grado*, pp. 11, 30-4.

these portraits were real likenesses. That interesting ninth century author, Agnellus of Ravenna, after giving a description of the personal appearance of bishop Exuperantius (c. 425-30), says : " Should you ask me where I have learnt what I have written concerning the visages of the bishops, I reply that it is art (*pictura*) which has given me the information, because at this period it was the custom to delineate their portraits from life ".¹ Indeed the work of Agnellus is full of allusions to mosaic portraits of the early bishops of Ravenna in its different churches²; and on one occasion he speaks of their likenesses being woven in gold on hangings in the church³. These episcopal portraits it may be added, were much more widespread in these early centuries than one might be disposed to imagine. John of Ephesus, a sixth century author, speaks of them as being " in towns and villages ", and as being " painted on the walls or on tablets " ⁴, and tells us that, on the death of the Patriarch of Constantinople, John the Scholastic (577), " his pictures in all places were destroyed, and those of (S) Eutychius fixed up in the churches in their stead ".⁵

We know, too, that in Rome during the fourth and fifth centuries Popes Sylvester, Mark, Julius, Damasus and Celestine I were building churches " of remarkable size " (*mirae magnitudinis*), and were adorning them with mosaics and frescoes, and that historical subjects as well as sacred were depicted therein.⁶ Further, when speaking of the pictures added by Leo the Great to the churches which he built or repaired, Pope Hadrian expressly states that three kinds of such pictures were then to be seen in St. Paul's. There were mosaics, e.g., on the great arch, fresco paintings of the Old and New Testament, and below them " images ", i. e., the papal medallions⁷, wherein on a bluish background, surrounded by two, sometimes three, circles of yellow, dark red and blue-grey respectively, were the portrait busts of the Popes, generally in red and white only. All the figures

¹ *Vit. pont.* p. 297, ed. *Mon. Germ. Hist.* 'Quia semper fiebant imagines suis temporibus ad illorum similitudinem.'

² Cf. Chaps. 27, 32, 66, 72, 77, etc.

³ "Fecit aliam endothim ex auro ubi sunt omnes praedecessores sui, auro textiles imagines fieri jussit". *Ib.*, c. 80.

⁴ *Lib. II. c. 27*, p. 135 ed. Payne-Smith.

⁵ *Ib.*, I. c. 36, p. 72.

⁶ See the letter of Pope Hadrian I. to Charlemagne regarding 'the image question,' ap. Migne, *Pat. Lat.* t. 98, p. 1285.

⁷ *Ib.* cf. Marangoni, *Chron. Rom. Pont.* p. v.

OF THE MIDDLE AGES

are depicted as clad in a tunic with the red stripes (*clavi*) of dignity, and the dark pallium or *ιμάτιον* thrown over the left shoulder, and covering the left arm, but leaving the right arm free.

When reading his description of the colours in which the busts of the Popes were painted, we are forcibly reminded of St. John Chrysostom's († 407) description of the way in which the painted portraits of the emperors were coloured at that time: "You have often seen" he said, "the portraits of the emperor ["the imperial icon" as he calls it] on a blue background on which in white the artist had limned the picture of the Basileus"¹. The fact is that, as the Christian ecclesiastical basilica was, to say the least, largely modelled on the pagan legal basilica, it was but natural that it should be decorated much in the same style. Fortunately we happen to know how the pagan basilica was decorated. Just as pagan temples were not infrequently saved from destruction because they were turned into Christian churches, so a pagan basilica with its decoration was saved from destruction by being used for Christian worship. The Church of S. Andrea in Catabarbara in Rome, most unhappily destroyed in 1681 was made from the basilica of Junius Bassus, consul in A. D. 331. Except in the apse this church preserved the ancient decoration of the original basilica which, by good fortune, was copied by the famous Sangallo. From his copy² we see that the basilica scheme of decoration with its imitation tapestry, its medallion portraits of emperors and others, and its mythological scenes, served as a model for the decoration of the Christian basilica — the mythological pictures being replaced by scenes from the Old or New Testament and the medallion portraits of the emperors by those of Popes or bishops³. It was Pope Simplicius (468-483) the second successor of Pope S. Leo I who as an inscription which has come down to us tells, adapted the basilica of Junius Bassus "to the sacred things of heaven".⁴ In view then of the custom of his age, we cannot

¹ Homil. Nolo vos. I. Cor. X, 1 ap. Migne, *Pat. G.*, III. 247.

² Cf. plate 31 of *Il Libro di G. da Sangallo* (Cod. Vat. Barb. 4424), Leipzig, 1910. Cf. O Marucchi, *Bulletin commun*, 1893 Tav. II-V p. 89 ff. or separately under the title *I lavori ad intarsio della Basilica di Giunio Basso*, Rome 1893.

³ Remains of the frescoes of the church of Sta. Maria Antiqua in the Roman Forum show how the scheme of decoration of the basilica of Bassus was reproduced in a Christian basilica almost exactly. See Grüneisen, *Ste Marie Ant.*, figs. 86, 98 and Plate 43.

⁴ The inscription is in Armellini, *Le Chiese di Roma*, p. 815.

reasonably doubt that in decorating St. Paul's, Pope Leo will have added medallion portraits of his predecessors to scenes from the Old and New Testament ¹.

The Monas-
tery of
St. Paul's.

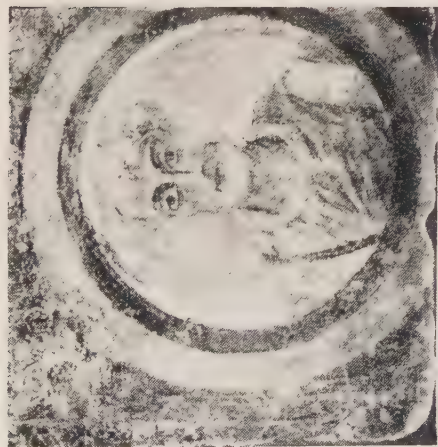
Examining once more the forty portraits in the monastery of St. Paul's, we can see at once that they can be divided into two classes, into those which precede that of Urban I, i.e., those from St. Peter to Callistus I, and those which follow it. The first set are coarse, and bear unmistakable signs of having been very much retouched; while those from Urban I to Innocent I, both inclusive, have been much less interfered with, are much more refined, and possess individual traits. We are indeed warned by certain authors ² to beware of believing that there is any real individuality about these portraits; but in turn we are inclined to warn critics of them not to allow secondary resemblances that exist between them to prevent them from seeing the real differences. When one sees a number of figures of about the same size, all wearing beards and the tonsure and the same dress, and all coloured alike, one is predisposed to regard them as completely alike. But, with regard to the portraits before us, we are of opinion that a careful examination will show that they really differ in form and expression ³, and that, without pretending that they are anatomically correct, or have any pretension to be detailed likenesses, they exhibit sufficient personal traits to make it clear that they are not wholly imaginary pictures based on a few models. Remembering then the custom of other churches in the fourth century ⁴, and reflecting that while on the one hand these portraits do not display the nimbus, they do on the other hand exhibit a complete correctness of costume, we must say that it is probable that

¹ Another witness for this custom is Arnobius the younger, a contemporary of Pope Leo whom he calls "domnus meus" (Op. 382, n. 4), who in his *Liber ad Gregorium* (c. 30, p. 429, ed. Morin, Paris. 1913) speaks of houses "perpetuis pictae miraculis".

² See e. g., Prof. Wüscher-Becchi, 'Le memorie di S. Gregorio Magno nella sua casa,' ap. *Atti dell' Accademia Romana*, t. viii. serie ii. 1903, p. 417 ff., following Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte*, i. p. 195. Much less will probably be thought of certain exaggerations in the drawing, if it be remembered that the portraits had to be viewed from a distance.

³ We are, of course, only speaking of the portraits from Urban I. to Innocent I.

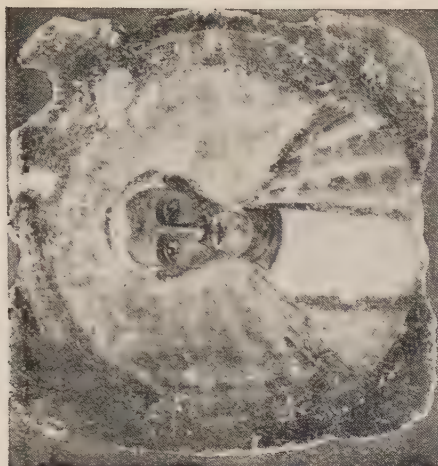
⁴ It should be called to mind also that in this age much attention was given by writers to the succession of the bishops of Rome.



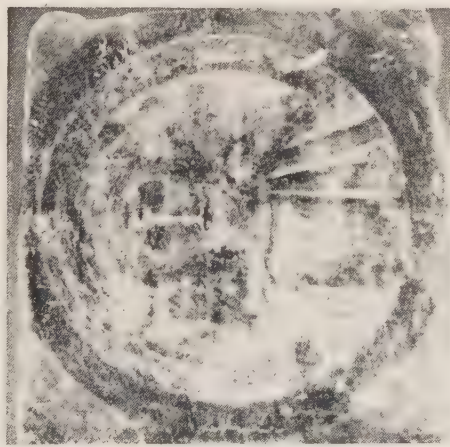
1



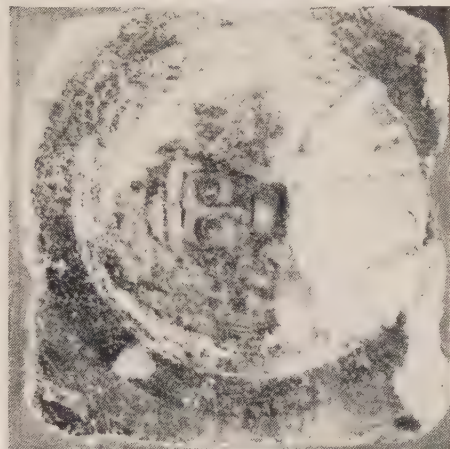
2



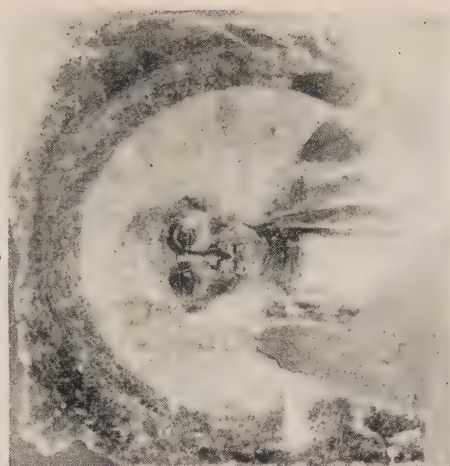
3



4



5



6

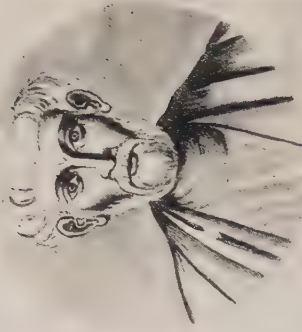
36. PORTRAITS FROM OLD ST. PAUL'S.



ANACLETVS
SEB' ANN. VIII
M. III. P. XII



+ CALLISTVS



+ DIONYSIVS
SED' ANN. II. M. III. P. VII



+ SYLVESTER
SED' ANN. XXIII. M. X. P. XXVII



+ MARCVS SED'
ANN. II. M. VIII
D. XXI



+ FELIX
SED' ANN. I. M. III. P. II



+ SIRICIVS
SED' ANN. XXXII. D. X



+ SYLVESTER SED'
ANN. M. D. XXVII

some of them, from that of Pope Sylvester¹ to that of Innocent I, were painted before the time of Leo I, and were even in some cases contemporary, and sufficiently like their originals to have enabled the spectator without great difficulty to recognise for whom they were intended.

Reverting to the series of portraits from St. Peter to Pope Melchiades († 314) inclusive, we have already noted that they have been "greatly", and we may now add, "and very badly" retouched. The principal work in that direction was done under Benedict XIV (1740-58), and Marangoni tells us with pride and no little detail how the restoration was effected. The work was placed under the superintendence of an experienced artist who was assisted by a small commission of learned men, among whom the chief were Justino Capicio and the canon himself. He tells us further that a great movable scaffold was made for the commission, which performed its work with the greatest possible care. It was found that fourteen out of the first sixteen medallions were much injured, and, curiously enough, in view of the fact that modern historians have concluded that there was no Pope Anacletus, the picture of that Pontiff "with his epigraph" had completely perished, whereas that of St. Peter, with vestments wholly unlike those of the other Popes, was almost intact, and required but little retouching. Whether the present condition of the earlier portraits is due to the above mentioned

¹ We have said nothing about the mosaic of Pope Sylvester I. in the remains of the old church dedicated to him which are to be seen to the side of and below the present Church of S. Martino ai Monti. The following will explain the reason of our reticence. At the back of an altar in the place named, there is a ruined mosaic showing the Blessed Virgin and a small figure kneeling at her side which is supposed to be that of Pope Sylvester I. In the days of Cardinal F. Barberini it was already in such a wretched state that he ordered a copy to be made of it also in mosaic. It is clear from certain still existing strands of the old mosaic, that the copyist did no more than reproduce the subject of the original without any regard to its details. He has given the small kneeling papal figure a yellow cope, and a white tiara with a single crown at its base. But how far this figure resembles the original in face or costume cannot be ascertained. Consequently as there are no real data for conjecture as to the date of the original mosaic, there can be no gain from our point of view in studying it further. Cf. E. Müntz, 'The lost mosaics of Rome.' ap. *The American Journal of Archaeology*, 1890, and Wilpert, *Die Römischen Mosaiken*, i. p. 323, Fig. 99, for an illustration of the mosaics. See also G. A. Filippini, *Ristretto dei SS. Silvestro e Martino de' Monti*, p. 24 ff. Rome, 1639, and plate C V of S. d'Agincourt, *Hist. of Art, 'Painting'*.

artist or to some later one, cannot be stated¹; but their existing state is so hopeless that no conclusions can be drawn from them as they stand. It is, however, to our purpose to enquire if any authentic material existed from which the original artists of these portraits might have worked. It would appear that they had at least a little.

St. Peter.

In the course of the year 1921, Italian and English illustrated papers published two portraits which they assigned to the apostles SS. Peter and Paul, and some of these papers went so far as to assert that they were *contemporary* portraits, alleging by mistake the great authority of Senator Lanciani. Whence came these portraits, of which we give reproductions, and what is their date? In the autumn of the year 1919 whilst the foundations were being laid of a great garage near the Porta Maggiore in Rome, a sepulchral monument of extraordinary interest was brought to light. It had belonged to a certain Aurelius Felicissimus, and originally consisted of at least three storeys. Both the existing storeys are adorned with frescoes. As the monument is within the walls of the emperor Aurelian, it must have been constructed before those walls were built (A. D. 270), as burial within the city was forbidden. It must therefore have been made before the middle of the third century. Perhaps more than that cannot be asserted with safety; but the excellent style in which its frescoes are executed would seem to demand a distinctly earlier date for its construction. This is not the place for an elaborate description of the "ipogeo del Viale Manzoni" as it is called in Rome, nor for a lengthy exposition of the discussions to which the subjects of the frescoes have given rise². Suffice it to say here that there is general agreement that the monument is a Christian one; but whilst Professor Paribeni and others believe it is a memorial of orthodoxy somewhat disguised, Marucchi and others contend that it is a Gnostic structure. As the mausoleum was at one time rifled, nothing appears to have been left behind by the robbers by which the controversy can be settled.

In the principal chamber of the basement there are a series of frescoes which are believed by Marucchi, seemingly with good reason,

¹ As the order given by Benedict was to preserve as far as possible both features and colour in the process of restoration, we may suppose that the present condition of the portraits is due to later hands. Cf. Marangoni, p. vii.

² Cf. G. Bendinelli, *Notizie degli scavi* 1920, p. 123-1341; O. Marnechi, "L'ipogeo del Viale Manzoni" ap. *Nuovo Bull. di Archaeol. crist.*, 1921, p. 44-7;

to represent the story of Job, and below them are eleven life-sized bearded figures clad in tunics and palliums. As it would appear that there were originally twelve such figures, it is generally believed that they represent the twelve apostles. They are painted in good style. The poses are natural, the draperies well-arranged, and the faces, as Senator Lanciani has pointed out, are full of character. Among these figures are two whose features strikingly conform to the type of face given to the Apostles SS. Peter and Paul in the earliest Roman monuments¹. We may well, then, be permitted to conclude that on the walls of our *ipogeo* we have fresco portraits of these apostles, and that they may have been painted by men who had conversed with those who had seen them, or who had seen authentic likenesses of them. For when we consider the habits of the Romans, it is very likely that portraits of SS. Peter and Paul were made in Rome during their life-time. The historian Polybius, speaking of the funerals of illustrious Romans, says that when the deceased was consigned to his tomb, his waxen image "which both in feature and complexion expressed an exact resemblance of his face" was placed in a conspicuous position in the house in which he had dwelt². The art of portraiture, especially in so far as it aimed at exactly reproducing the features of the face, was essentially Roman, and it was much encouraged by the earlier Emperors. So that Cassiodorus, writing even after Rome had been sacked more than once, could say not only that the statues at Rome were so life-like that you would suppose that they had been begotten rather than carved, but also that succeeding generations of artists had presented the City with hardly a smaller population than nature herself³. And we are positively assured by Eusebius⁴ that he had himself seen the pictures of the Apostles Peter and Paul, drawn in colours and preserved till his day. He believed them to have been painted probably and R. Paribeni, "Antichissime Pitture cristiane a Roma", ap. *Boll. d'Arte del Ministero della pub. istruz.*, n. 3, 1921, p. 97 ff.

¹ Cf. A. Cossio, *The Tomb of St. Peter* opposite p. 256, or Grisar, *Hist. of Rome and the Popes*, I opp. p. 290; and Marrucchi, *Le memorie dei SS. Pietro e Paolo*, Roma, 1894, Plate I.

² *Hist.*, Lib. VII. c. 3. He also speaks of the "living, breathing likeness of the deceased". Cf. Sallust, *Bel. Jug.*, c. 4. ³ *Variar.* VII, 15.

⁴ *Hist.* VII 18. Moreover, St. Augustine, *De consens. Evang.* I. 10 and St. Ambrose Ep. 53 speak of authentic portraits of these Apostles as existing in their time. Cf. Barnes, *St. Peter in Rome*, p. 10. St Augustine's words are: 'People "in many places used to see them (Peter and Paul) in pictures with Christ. For Rome in a specially honourable manner commends the merits of Peter and Paul".'

by their converts; for he reminds us that it was an ancient custom for men thus to honour those whom they regarded as their benefactors.

However, whether the portraits of SS. Peter and Paul were painted during their life-time or not, or whether the frescoes in the *ipogeo* are meant for them or not, we know that whether stamped in bronze, figured in gold leaf at the bottom of a glass (Plate 40), or sculptured in marble, the face of St. Peter is normally, from the second or third century onwards, depicted as round, strong and furrowed, with a short crisp beard and curly hair, whereas that of St. Paul, with which it is generally associated, is shown as longer and thinner and with a long, wavy beard, while his head is shown as somewhat bald in front. As the data for the features of the two apostles which is furnished us by literature¹ is identical with that supplied us by art, it is generally agreed that "the antiquity and genuineness of both types cannot be doubted"².

Gilded
glasses.

Material for the painting of other portraits besides that of St. Peter was at hand for the early artists in the shape of the gilded glasses to which allusion has just been made (Plate 40). These glasses, for the most part bottoms of bowls made for presents, were used to ornament the graves in the Roman Catacombs and elsewhere. Most of the existing ones are said to date from the fourth century, but some appear to belong to the third, and some to the fifth century. Among them are still preserved in the Vatican and other museums specimens which give portraits of Popes Callistus, Sixtus II, Marcellinus († 308), all of the third century. There is reason to believe that they and the one now lost showing, as many supposed, Pope Liberius (352-66), of which a copy is extant (Plate 40), were made during the lifetime of those Pontiffs, and had at least some

¹ Allusions to the frontal baldness and long nose of St. Paul are made in the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, ch. i. v. 7, and in the *Dialogue of Philopatris*, ch. 12, vol. iii. pp. 146-7, ed. Jacobitz. The *Acts* go back ultimately to a document of the very first century, as is noted by Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 381 ff. Cf. Malalas, *Chronog.*, X p. 275 ed. Bonn. In general it may be said that the Greek tradition in this matter of the characteristic features of SS. Peter and Paul is the same as the Latin. Cf. S. Borgia, *Vaticana Confessio b. Petri*, p. cxxvii. ff. Rome, 1776; A. Cossio, *The tomb of St. Peter*, p. 205 ff. Città di Castello, 1913; and M. le Comte de Saint Laurent, 'Aperçus iconographiques sur S. Pierre et S. Paul,' p. 26 ff. and p. 138 ff. ap. *Annales Archéol.* vol. xxiii. 1863. In a bas-relief of the fourth century found at Aquileia in 1901 the same types reappear. Cf. C. Constantini, *Aquileia e Grado*, Fig. 75.

² Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 210.



38. ST. PETER.

[Facing p. 104.]



39. ST. PAUL.

[Facing p. 105.]

resemblance to the Popes whose names they bear. At any rate, speaking of the glass which shows Pope Callistus, De Rossi expressed his conviction that, certainly in this case, there was question of a "genuine portrait", and he called attention to its alert and steady look ¹.

With regard to the glass bearing the name Liberius, it may be said that Mgr. Wilpert has proved that it is the portrait of a successful charioteer, and not of the Pope of that name ². If, however, he has been successful in demolishing one belief about a supposed portrait of Pope Liberius, he cannot be said to have been equally successful in his attempt to assign another to him. In the catacomb of St. Praetextatus, over an arcosolium, there is a portrait of a young man in the ordinary dress of the fourth century. Unfortunately the plaster whereon the name of the man was painted is so damaged that it is only possible to make out the letters LIBI.....US. Mgr. Wilpert restores the name thus "LIBERIUS" and identifies the accompanying figure as that of Pope Liberius (352-5) ³. It is a pity that he has given only a drawing and not a photograph of the figure, and that in the drawing he has given the letters not as they actually are, but as restored by himself. It has been pointed out that his identification is more than doubtful, as it is scarcely likely that, at the end of the fourth century, Liberius would have been depicted as a martyr, and that too in a cemetery with which he never had any connection, and with which his name had never been associated in any way ⁴.

There are also to be found in the catacombs and elsewhere *Early frescoes.* frescoes of some of these early Popes. In the crypt of St. Lucina, close to the cemetery of Praetextatus, there is one of Pope Cornelius (254-5) which shows well the pontifical vestments, the sandals, the dalmatic, chasuble and pallium. But it is merely an ideal figure of a much later age, with the name of the Pope by its side. It is possibly the work of John III (561-74) who retired to the catacomb of Praetextatus to avoid the persecution of Narses ⁵. Of the same age is the figure of Sixtus II († 258) in the same place, and still later

¹ *Bullet. crist.* 1866, n. 2, p. 23. Cf. Boldetti, *Osservazioni sopra i Cimiteri*, p. 59 f. Rome, 1720, who found the glass of Liberius in the cemetery of S. Callistus.

² *Le Pitture delle Catacombe*, p. 482-3.

³ *Pitture delle Catacombe*, Vol. I (testo), p. 380; Vol. II, plate, 250, Rome, 1903.

⁴ See the criticisms of O Marucchi in *Nuovo bullet. di archeol. crist.* 1908, n. I, p. 77, and in *Esame di un opusc. di Mgr G. Wilpert*, p. 46 Rome, 1909.

⁵ *Liber Pont.* i. p. 305.

is that of Pope Urban I (223-30) in the crypt of St. Cecilia. But with regard to the medallion of Sixtus II comparatively recently discovered in the lower church of S. Crisogono, though, as it stands, it dates only from the pontificate of Gregory III (735-41), it has certainly been painted over an earlier one which no doubt was made in the fourth century when the church was originally built¹. Though then it may be said to be highly probable that contemporary portraits of somewhat later Popes were occasionally painted in the catacombs², these cemeteries have so far not furnished any "fresco" material for the story of papal portraiture before the days of Sylvester I.

The widespread habit among the pagan population of Rome in imperial times of making portraits for the home, for the funeral monument and for honorary purposes; the very early corresponding Christian practice of making portraits of the *Orantes*, etc.³, and the evidence of the existing gilt glasses is no doubt enough to convince us that contemporary portraits of many of the Popes of the first three centuries were painted. There is, however, nothing now to prove that any such preexisting material was used by the artists who first painted on the walls of old St. Paul's the *clipei* of the Popes who lived before its erection.

Seven groups.

As in a short work of this sort it is impossible to deal with all the existing portraits of the Popes before Martin V, we purpose to continue the treatment of them as we have begun it, viz., to treat of them in sections, saying something of the principal ones in each. With this end in view we would divide the Popes from St. Peter to Martin V into seven groups. The first group includes the Pontiffs from St. Peter to the predecessor of Sylvester I (A.D. 29-314) who lived during the days of persecution, and who may be called the Popes of the Catacombs.

¹ Apart from the evidence of the picture itself, it is insinuated in the text of the *Liber pont.* that it was renewed: 'Hic (Gregory III.) *renovavit* tectum S. Chrysogoni... et cameram sive parietum picturas.' Cf. O. Marucchi, *Nuovo Bull. Arch. Crist.* xvii. (1911), Plates VI. and VII.

² It is said of Pope Celestine († 432) that he decorated 'his own cemetery with pictures', i. e., that portion of the cemetery of St. Priscilla where he was afterwards buried. Cf. *Ep. Had. I.* ap. *P. Lat.* t. 98, p. 1285.

³ Cf. Bréhier, *L'art chrétien*, pp. 68-105, 112; Grisar, *History of the Popes*, i. p. 217 Fig. 47 II. p. 181; W. de Grüneisen, *Le Portrait*, p. 29, Rome, 1911.

OF THE MIDDLE AGES

From 314 to 410 (Innocent I 402-17) we have a period when the Church was in the main free from violent persecution from without, and when the Roman Empire had a fair share of tranquillity within its borders. During this period flourished the Popes of the Great Peace as we may call them.

The melancholy years from 410, in which occurred the sack of Rome by Alaric the Goth, to 522 when, in the pontificate of Pope Hormisdas, Rome was recovered from the Goths by Narses, the great general from Byzantium, were the days of the agony and passing of old Rome, days anything but favourable to the practice of art.

The three hundred and sixty years from 522 to 882 when John VIII died, witnessed the birth of the new Rome of the Popes, and in politics and in art the growth of Byzantine influence introduced by the generals of Justinian.

From the death of John VIII (882) to the accession of the German Pope Clement (1046), the city went through a period of anarchy. It was Christian Rome's darkest night.

The centuries from 1046-1305 (the accession of Clement V) saw the first Roman artistic Renaissance. They were the flower of the Middle Ages, and in Roman Art they were the centuries of the *Marmorarii*.

Finally, the fourteenth century (1305-1417) to the election of Martin V) was a period of war and plague, a period of general decay all over Europe. It was the age of the residence of the Popes at Avignon — the age of the so-called Babylonian Captivity, and the age of the Great Western Schism. It was a time when Rome nearly fell into complete decay; and yet, as we shall see, for the purposes of this book, it was an important period, as it witnessed a great revival in interest in portraiture.

What we have already said about the forty portraits in the cloister of the monastery of St. Paul, covers the story of the Popes as far as their portraiture is concerned during its first two periods. Turning to its third (410-522), during which ancient Rome suffered and died, we find that, despite the terrible times, St. Paul's and its decoration continually engaged the attention of the Popes. Evidence has already been given to show that, despite all the terror caused by the ravages of Attila's dreaded Huns, the basilica was decorated by Pope Leo the Great. Symmachus († 514) followed his example; 410-522.

and, according to his biographer, not only renewed its apse, but adorned a portion of the basilica with paintings¹. No doubt part of his work consisted in continuing its series of papal portraits. He is in fact credited with having added the ten portraits from that of Pope Zosimus, the successor of Innocent I, to that of his own predecessor, Anastasius II. Of these paintings we have only the copies made by order of Cardinal Barberini: and the inferiority, compared to the originals, of the copies made of the Popes from Urban I to Innocent I, permits us to infer that these under discussion are also inferior to their originals. But if they do not serve to give us a trustworthy idea of the features of the Popes in this age, they certainly are of use to tell us something of their vestments. They inform us that the ecclesiastical pallium came into use at the beginning of this period. For we see that, commencing with Symmachus himself, the Pontiffs of this period are depicted as wearing, in place of the philosopher's pallium, a tunic and other pontifical vestments, with the ecclesiastical pallium above them.

These conclusions can also be drawn from a copy of the portrait of Pope Simplicius (468-483) preserved by Ciacconius². From the *Liber Pontificalis* (i. 249), we know that that Pontiff built "the basilica of the blessed martyr Bibiana", and that one of the lost mosaics of Rome is the one with which he adorned the apse of his new church. When in course of time the mosaic became damaged, we are told by Ciacconius that the portrait (*imago*) of the Pope, who as usual was represented on his mosaic, was restored in colour. Of this Ciacconius gives a coloured drawing, showing the full figure of the Pope wearing a plain tiara, a pallium marked with crosses, and a chasuble which looks quite Gothic. It is interesting to see that, even in the days of Rome's agony, not only could the Popes find in Rome artists skilled enough to execute the various works which they required of them, but that the reputation of the Roman artists was still high enough to cause them to be wanted abroad. That such was the fact we have evidence in a letter of Theodoric the Ostrogoth, preserved by Cassiodorus. Writing to Agapitus, the prefect of Rome, this most enlightened of the Gothic Kings bids him send to Ravenna from Rome "most skilled mosaic

¹ *Lib. Pont.* i. 262, 'Et post confessionem picturam ornavit.'

² *Cod. Vat.* 5407, f. 73 or 108.



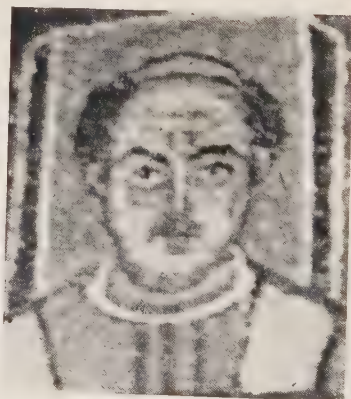
40. PORTRAITS ON BRONZE PLAQUE (1) AND GILT GLASSES (2—6).



41. ZACHARY.



43. LEO IV.



42. MOSAIC PORTRAITS OF PASCHAL I.



44. RECONSTRUCTED POTRAIT OF GREGORY I.

OF THE MIDDLE AGES

marble workers (marmorarii)"¹. One can only regret that "the varied coloured cubes of marble woven" by such artists into a portrait of Pope Simplicius has not come down to us.

The next or fourth period of papal history, the age of the Byzantine occupation of Rome; of the Iconoclast persecution; of the beginnings of the temporal power of the Popes; of the foundation of papal Rome, and of the brief Carolingian Renaissance, was an important one in the history of Roman art. During this epoch Rome was for about two hundred years, nominally at least, governed by Byzantine Dukes, and so came under the artistic influence of Constantinople; and even after the cessation of any effective control over it by the Basileus by the Bosphorus, and the advent of the civil authority of the Roman Pontiffs, Byzantine artistic influence was kept up by the monks and others who fled thither to avoid the persecution of the Iconoclast Emperors. The remains of the historic literature and art of this period of Byzantine influence which have survived, furnish us with direct evidence that the Popes of that age caused portraits of themselves to be executed in various materials. We read, for instance, that Pope Agapitus (c. 535) placed a likeness of himself in a library which he had built²; and that the portrait of Leo IV (847-56) was woven into countless textile fabrics from the looms of Egypt and Syria³. The inscription below the apsidal mosaic in the basilica of St. Agnes erected by Honorius I (625-39), tells us how he may be recognised in the mosaic by his vestments and the model of the church which he holds in his hands (factis)⁴. To this day, too, are preserved the originals or copies of mosaics or frescoes in which are to be seen contemporary portraits of Felix IV (526-30)⁵, a mosaic in the Church of SS. Cosmas and Damian;

¹ He wanted them in order that: "discolorea crusta marmorum gratissima picturarum varietate texantur, quia illud est semper in pretium quod ad decorem fuerit exquisitum". Cassiod., *Variarum*. I, 6.

² *Lib. Pont.* i. 288.

³ 'Obtulit vela 4 cum chrysoclavo in quibus ipse depictus.' *Ib.* ii. p. 130 cf. pp. 125, 129, etc. Of another vestment it is said: 'habens effigiem ipsius almi pontificis'. *Ib.* p. 111. Cf. p. 114 for his portrait in mosaic. Cf. *ib.*, II 80 for notice of a vestment in which the figure of Gregory IV is said to have been woven; and *ib.*, p. 113 f. where mention is made of figures of the emperor Lothaire and Pope Leo IV in beaten gold.

⁴ 'Vestibus et factis signantur illius ora

Lucet et aspectu lucida corda gerens.' — *Ap. ib.* i. p. 325.

⁵ Ciacconius (*Cod. Vat.* 5409 f. 11) gives a copy of a portrait of Felix IV.

Pelagius II (578-90), a mosaic in that of St. Laurence outside the walls; Honorius I (625-39), a mosaic in the church of St. Agnes outside the walls; John IV (640-2) and Theodore (642-9), a mosaic in the chapel of S. Venanzio, in the Baptistery of the Lateran; John VII (705-8), a mosaic in the Vatican crypts¹; Zacharias (741-52), (Fig. 41), Paul I (757-68), and Hadrian I (772-95), frescoes in the comparatively recently discovered ancient church of Sta. Maria Antiqua; Leo III (795-816), a completely restored mosaic of the Lateran triclinium, but of which copies in its original state have been preserved²; in a lost mosaic once in the church of Sta. Susanna ad duas domos, of which also a copy has been preserved³; and in a fresco in the portico of the church of SS. Vincenzo e Anastasio, of which a copy was made in 1630⁴; Paschal I (817-24), mosaics in Sta. Maria in Dominica, Sta. Prassede, and Sta. Cecilia (Fig. 42); Gregory IV (827-44), a mosaic in St. Mark's⁵ (Plate 45); Leo IV (847-55), a fresco in San Clemente⁶.

from the cemetery of St. Nicholas in *Carcère*. But see note below about this cemetery. The copy depicts the Pope with a nimbus, as bare-headed and bearded, and with a strong, rather severe face. His vestments are like those in the portrait of Boniface IV. from the same place, a reproduction of which we give.

¹ Cf. E. Müntz, 'L'oratoire du Pape Jean VII.' p. 145 ff. ap. *Revue archéologique*, Sept. 1877. He points out that the drawing given by Ciampini, *De Sacr. Aedific.* Pl. XXII. showing the remains of the mosaic of John's chapel is inaccurate — 'une gravure informe.' From fragments of his fresco portrait in Sta Maria Antiqua, Grüneisen has attempted a reconstruction of the entire face of John VII. Cf. R. van Marle, *La Peinture de Rome*, p. 53.

² By Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* ii. Plate XL. and by others. See Plate XIX. 1, from the Windsor drawings n. 9166.

³ By Ciampini, *ib.* Plate XLII. Cf. *Cod. Barb. Lat.* n. 2062 f. 62. Leo had been ordained priest in that Church. He renewed the Church 'cum absida de musivo,' *L. P.* ii. p. 3.

⁴ Cf. *Cod. Barb. Lat.* 4402. A rude copy on f. 36 gives the figure of Leo III. several times, but on too small a scale to be of any use as a portrait. His figure on f. 47 is of more value. It shows a beardless young man wearing a tiara with one crown, but without a pallium. His vestments are wrongly drawn.

⁵ There is an excellent illustration of this mosaic in Dengel and Egger's *Der Palazzo di Venezia in Rom*, Vienna, 1909.

⁶ The portrait we give of Gregory I. (590-604) is merely a reconstruction by Professor Wüscher-Becchi from the elaborate description given by his biographer, John the Deacon, *Lib.* iv. c. 3-4. Speaking of Gregory's portrait, the Deacon said: 'In absidula post fratrum cellarium Gregorius ejusdem artificis magisterio in rota gypsea ostenditur,' i. e. on a clipeus of stucco (Fig. 6). It appears that towards the end of the sixteenth century, Don Angelo Rocca made an effort to reconstruct in the Church of S. Saba this fresco and others painted by order of St. Gregory; but he did nothing more than copy a previous effort made in the twelfth or thirteenth century by an unskilled artist. Cf. 'Le memorie di S. Gregorio' cited above. Worthy

OF THE MIDDLE AGES

A copy at least of yet another contemporary portrait of Paschal I is in existence. In the outer portico of the Church of St. Cecily there was once to be seen a series of ninth century frescoes showing the saint's story. One of them depicted the Saint appearing to Paschal. He is represented as bearded, and as wearing a low mitre and a pallium hanging in the earlier way ¹. After Hadrian I (772-795), with whom begins the series of papal coins, figures of the Popes are occasionally seen on them; but for many centuries they are of so rude a conventionality that they are not of the slightest use as portraits. Their utter want of value as likeness will be understood when it is said that the eyes, nose, and mouth are just represented by dots and straight lines ².

Examining these portraits which stretch over a period of three and a half centuries, we cannot see that they furnish any evidence of any regular improvement or steady decline in their delineation. As far as the evidence of the mosaics alone is concerned, there is certainly all the difference in the world between the beautiful one in the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian, justly reckoned one of the finest in Rome, which gives us the features of Felix IV, and the poor one in St. Mark's (the last made before the Gregorian Renaissance in the eleventh century) which presents us with the face of Gregory IV. The figure of Felix is natural and graceful, the face with its white hair and beard most pleasing. It is true the present figure is only a restoration by Alexander VII, but as the restoration was made from a copy of the original, we can gather from it "in all probability..... a

of more minute attention is the miniature of Gregory on the diptych of Boethius, an ivory of the second half of the seventh century. See the coloured plate ap. Wilpert, *Römische Mosaiken*, iv. Plate 297. We also give a copy of the portrait of Boniface IV. (607-15) made by Ciacconius (*Cod. Vat.* 5407, f. 12) 'from a picture in the cemetery' round about the Church of St. Nicholas 'in carcere Tulliano' (Plate XX. 2). The original of this copy, however, may not be contemporary; for, although the Church was probably built long before, it is mentioned for the first time only in connection with Urban II (1088-99). Cf. *Lib. Pont.* ii. 294-5). For good copies of the portraits of John VII, Paschal I, and Leo IV, see Grüneisen, *Le Portrait*, p. 79. In Munich (*Cod. Lat. Monac.* 156, f. 28) is a copy of a contemporary portrait of Stephen (IV.) V, 816-7, with a square nimbus which O. Panvinio sent there. Cf. Hartig, "Das On. Panvinio Sammlung von Pabstbildnissen in der Bibliothek Jo. J. Fuggers" (*Codd. lat. monac.* 155-160), ap. *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 38 Band 2 Steft. p. 314. In *Cod. Barb. Lat.*, 2738 f. 13 n. 99, Panvinio gives a small coarse plate of the said portrait.

¹ Cf. S. d'Agincourt, *Hist. of art*, 'Painting', Pate LXXXIV, London, 1867.

² Cf. the plates of these coins at the end of Vol. I of Serafini's splendid *Le Moneta pontificie*, Milan, 1910.

fair notion of what the original looked like" ¹. The figure of Gregory IV on the other hand, perched on a little stand, is stiff, and its drapery is awkwardly arranged, though the face is distinctly natural. If then, the difference between the sixth century mosaic of Felix IV and the ninth century one of Gregory is considerable, so too, but to a lesser degree, is there a difference in favour of the seventh century figures of Honorius I and John IV ², as against the ninth century figures of Paschal I. If, however, we turn to fresco, we find that remarkably fine work was done as late as the second half of the eighth century. The discoveries in the church of Sta. Maria Antiqua were a revelation in every sense; and it is only necessary to turn over the illustrated pages of Grüneisen's magnificent volume on that church to be convinced of the excellence of most of the frescoes in it. From the illustrations he gives ³, it is clear that the portrait of Pope Zacharias, which was painted in his lifetime, is one of the most life-like that was executed in the early middle ages.

Unable, within the limits of this volume, to treat with any detail the various portraits even of this church, we will simply note that the very faded papal figure with a square nimbus ⁴, which Grüneisen says is probably that of that "servant of Mary", John VII, can only by a flight of imagination to which we are not equal be said to offer "a striking resemblance (*analogie*) with the mosaic portrait of him preserved in the Vatican Crypt" ⁵. To us this latter suggests an amiable, pious, rather weak person who has his head on one side. When Sta Maria Antiqua was discovered over twenty years ago, the pictures of the apse were in a very decayed state, but it was possible just to see the figure of Pope Paul I (757-67) with the square nimbus round the head ⁶. Similarly with regard to the last of the Popes whose contemporary likeness was found in the ancient basilica, namely, Hadrian I (772-95). His broad face is but faintly visible ⁷.

¹ Morey, *Lost mosaics and frescoes of Rome*, p. 37. Cf. p. 2.

² For a copy of the mosaic showing John IV see the frontispiece of Grisar, *Analecta Romana*.

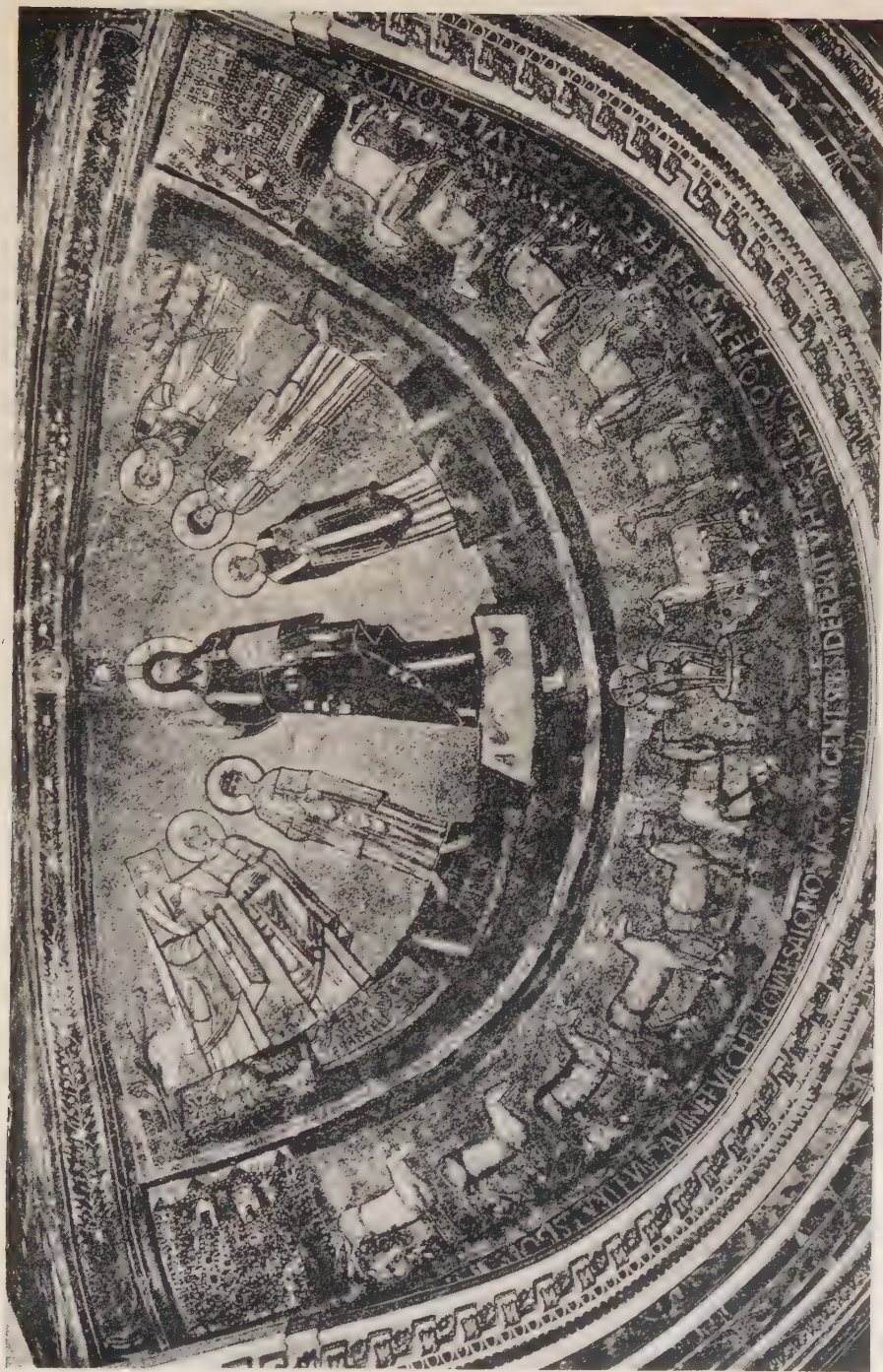
³ See also the illustrations in his *Le Portrait*, p. 79. He supplies two specimens of the portrait of Zacharias in his *Ste. Marie Antiquie*, planche icon, n. XXXVII. and LXXIX., the latter being of the head alone.

⁴ *Ste. Marie*, Fig. 108, 147.

⁵ The opinion of Ch. Diehl, *Dans l'Orient Byzantin*, p. 293.

⁶ Grüneisen, *l. c.* p. 53, n. 1 and Fig. 109, p. 149.

⁷ A coloured illustration of the fresco showing this Pope is given in vol. iv. Pl. 195 of J. Wilpert's splendid work : *Die Römischen Mosaiken und Malereien*, Freiburg-in-Breisgau, 1916.



45. APSIDAL MOSAIC WITH PORTRAIT OF GREGORY IV.



46. GREGORY IV BLESSES RHABANUS MAURUS.

OF THE MIDDLE AGES

We may subjoin here that if the art of photography had been known in 1702, we should no doubt be in possession of another contemporary portrait of Pope Paul I, for in that year there was to be seen on the walls of a buried Church near the Tor di Specchi a figure of Paul I with a square nimbus and the words: " Sanctiss. Paulus Romanus Papa ".¹

If, as we have just seen, the figure of Pope Gregory IV fared very badly at the hands of the mosaicist of the basilica of St. Mark's, it was better, or, at any rate, more attractively handled by a contemporary miniaturist. In an illuminated MS. in the Vatican library² of a work, " De laudibus S. Crucis " by Rhabanus Maurus (ninth century) there is a very quaint picture of Rhabanus presenting his book to the Pope. Gregory, with a long, oval face, shaved, bareheaded, and tonsured, is represented as seated, and bending graciously forward. Two monks are standing by his side, and Rhabanus inclines before him. The Pope is depicted as wearing black sandals, a white dalmatic, a white alb with very thin purple stripes, a red chasuble, and the usual white pallium with black crosses. While his left hand rests on his knees, his right is raised in the act of blessing Rhabanus, who is offering him his book; and, whatever may be thought of the drawing of the hand, its attitude certainly suggests that the Pope is literally pouring his blessings on the industrious monk³.

After the death of the strong Pope, John VIII, there set in Rome's dark night. For a century and a half (882-1046) to the accession of Clement II, the first of a succession of German Popes, there was feudal anarchy in the City of Rome. The chiefs of its noble families lorded it over priest and people, and in some few cases their unworthy offspring were placed by force even in the chair of Peter. Yet during this sorry age, when even written records almost fail us, the hand of the artist was not quite palsied⁴. It was during this period of distress that Sergius III († 911) rebuilt the Lateran basilica, and adorned it with frescoes⁵; and that John XV (985-996) decorated with paintings the Oratory of Sta. Maria in Gradibus⁶. It was

¹ Northcote and Brownlow, *Roma Sotteranea*, Vol. II. p. 212.

² *Cod. Reg. Suec.*, n. 124.

³ The miniature is to be found near the beginning of the Ms. p. 6.

⁴ Cf. Mann, *Lives of the Popes*, iv. 28 ff.

⁵ Joan. Diac. *De eccles. Lat.* c. 17. His work of decoration was continued by his successor, John X.

⁶ *Lib. Pont.* ii. 339.

also during the same epoch that we saw Pope Formosus painting in St. Peter's portraits of himself and of his predecessors ¹.

Moreover, in September 1689 Ciampini discovered a fresco which the same Pontiff had caused to be painted in a little oratory made out of some of the ruins of the temple of Claudius which are to be found in the garden of the monastery attached to the Church of SS. John and Paul in Rome. Of this fresco Ciampini made a copy which is still preserved ². It shows Our Lord with SS. Peter and Lawrence on his right, and SS. Paul and Hippolytus on his left. Below him on his right is a figure holding a sword which is believed by some to represent the King of the Bulgarians; and, at one time, on his left, equally below him, was the figure of Pope Formosus, who, before he became Pope, had been an apostle among the Bulgarians. Unfortunately the fresco, as seen and copied by Ciampini, does not help us to form any idea of the Pope's features; for, though his name could still be seen by Ciampini, the fresco of the Pope beneath it was completely gone. Most likely it had been deliberately destroyed in the troubles that followed his death ³. S. d'Agincourt in his work on the *History of Art* already cited, furnishes us with a copy of a fresco painting (pl. XCVI) of another Pope (Benedict VIII, 1012-24) of this unhappy period. This contemporary portrait once existed on one of the interior walls of old St. Paul's. It represents a young man in ecclesiastical vestments with a pallium adorned with the usual black crosses, and worn in the modern fashion, and with a tiara of one crown or rim. The Pope is seen kneeling at the feet of our Lord who is carrying his cross, and appears to be offering him perhaps the crown of thorns and the purple garment which had been thrown around him in derision. D'Agincourt sees "a great similarity to the ancient Greek school in the arrangement and details of the painting". By some oversight the figure is assigned to Boniface VIII, whereas the lettering by its side (BENEDI VIII PP) is enough by itself to show to whom the figure belongs.

The close of this sad period is marked by the miserable pontificate of the youthful Benedict IX who was elected in the year 1033. It

¹ See also Grimaldi, *Cod. Barb. Lat.* 2733, f. 106 ff.

² See *Vat. Ms.* n. 7849, and De Rossi, *Bullet. di arch. crist.* 1868 p. 59 n. 3.

³ P. M. Paciaudi, *De sacris christianorum balneis*, Tab. I. Rome, 1758, has reproduced the sketch of Ciampini, and Paciaudi's plate is reproduced in Cabrol, *Dict. d'Archéol.* sub *Bains*, p. 106.

OF THE MIDDLE AGES

is the seemingly reliable tradition of the celebrated Greek monastery of Grottaferrata on the Alban Hills near Rome that the unhappy man retired there to do penance. In his book, *De sepulchro Benedicti IX*¹, Dom Gregory Placentini essays to prove that Benedict died in that monastery the death of a penitent, and he gives in the beginning of his work a reproduction of an ancient fresco which once existed in the monastery, and was copied before its destruction, necessitated by structural alterations to the building. The engraving of Placentini shows a monk with a very demure and youthful face on his knees before a Greek picture of the Madonna to which he is presenting a tiara with a single crown. It is impossible to say now how far the engraving has reproduced the real style and spirit of the original, and so to form any trust-worthy conclusion as to the age of the original. One can only say that in 1713 it was in a "corridore antico" of the monastery².

If, unhappily, the portrait of the church restorer, Formosus, is lost, there are extant of the Popes of this period, copies of contemporary portraits of John XII (955-64), and John XIII (965-72), surnamed the Good. The copy of that of John XII has been preserved by Grimaldi³, and, if accurate, is of no little historical value, as it tends to show that John XII was not a mere youth of eighteen when he was elected Pope. Grimaldi gives us two pictures of John XII. In one he is shown being clothed with "the great mantle"⁴, and in the other he is shown in a procession under a canopy giving his blessing. In both he is represented as a man of so mature an age that he could not have been elected Pope when he was only eighteen; for on that supposition he died when only twenty-seven. John XIII, the Good, was buried in St. Paul's in a tomb made during his lifetime and placed between the first column and the Porta Sancta near the entrance. His epitaph is still preserved in the adjoining monastery. The tomb, however, has perished, but the fresco that, we will not say, adorned, but accompanied it, was copied before its destruction. The illustration which we give of the copy shows that John XIII, if the rude fresco (or its copy) did not

¹ Rome 1747.

² See the authentic document drawn up in 1727 regarding this ancient fresco in Placentini, p. 81.

³ *Cod. Barb. Lat.* 2733, fol. 50. Cf. Mann, *l. c.* iv. 244.

⁴ Cf. Mann, *l. c.* and x. 18, and Lauer, *Le Latran*, p. 141 f.

belie him, was, to say the least, a man of full habit of body¹.

Passing over, because not contemporary, the fascinating Register of Tivoli² where are given coloured figures of certain tenth century Popes which are interesting for their costume, we continue our course down the ages.

1046-1305.

The next period (1046-1305) of the long story of the Popes for which we would discuss the materials that existed for the composition of their portraits in old St. Paul's, was a distinctly important one in the history of art in general, but particularly of Roman art. It was the age in which there was everywhere in the West that great outburst of ecclesiastical architecture of which contemporaries speak with such lawful pride³. It was the age in which sculpture⁴, after a hibernation of many centuries, not merely awoke, but achieved triumphs still unsurpassed in the domain of foliage and decorative detail, and even in that of the draped human figure. It was in Rome the age of the Roman Marmorarii, the so-called Cosmati, those artists who, working specially in coloured marbles, were at once decorators, mosaicists, sculptors and architects. It was in Rome, too, during this period that, especially under the guidance of Pietro Cavallini, there took place that revival of the art of painting which subsequently enabled Florence to acquire undying fame in the story of art⁵. It was, particularly through the art of Rome, the age of Italy's first artistic Renaissance.

With the progress in Rome of this great development of art we may be sure that papal portraiture did not suffer⁶. Written documents and extant remains prove that contemporary portraits of

¹ *Cod. Barb. Lat.* 4406, f. 141; *Lib. Pont.* ii. 254.

² L. Bruzza, *Regesto delle chiese di Tivoli*, Rome, 1880.

³ Cf. R. Glaber, *Hist.* iii. c. 4; and Gerhoh of Reichersperg. *Lib. de corrupt. eccles. statu*, n. 52.

⁴ Apparently no figure sculpture of any importance was executed in Rome from the decline of Roman sculpture to the days of Guglielmo da Modena in the twelfth century—the artist to whom are assigned the figures on the façade of Modena Cathedral.

⁵ Mr. S. Lothrop, 'Pietro Cavallini' in the *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 1918, justly calls Cavallini the most important figure of a school of artists which included the Cosmati, Filippo Russuti, and Jacopo Toriiti. His name "first appears in a Roman document" of. 1273, and "the mosaics in Santa Maria in Trastevere formerly bore his signature and the date 1291". The same author: *A bibliographical guide to Cavallini and the Florentine painters*, p. 5, Rome, 1917.

⁶ Marquet de Vasselot, *Hist. du portrait en France*, p. 45, declares that, in civil life, painted portraits were quite common in this age.



47. GRIMALDI'S COPY OF FRESCO ABOVE
THE SARCOPHAGUS OF JOHN XIII.



48. NICHOLAS III.

[Facing p. 116.]



49. NICHOLAS III, FROM A SERIES ILLUSTRATING SUPPOSED PROPHECIES.

OF THE MIDDLE AGES

the Popes were executed in fresco, in increasingly beautiful mosaic, and in sculptured marble.

While several of the Pontiffs of this really artistic age caused more or less extended series of portraits of their predecessors to be painted, a number of existing contemporary works of art bring before us the face and form of a very large proportion of these Pontiffs themselves.

Artistically speaking, perhaps the most famous among the Popes of this glorious period is Victor III (1086-7), who, as Desiderius, abbot of Monte Cassino, did so much for the revival of art in Italy. Although no portrait of him as Pope has survived to our day, a contemporary miniature and the fresco of the apse of S. Angelo in Formis near Capua, executed at his order, combine to furnish us with an idea of his personal appearance. Both the miniature and the fresco give the abbot the square nimbus, and from both, if there be not merely a question of style, we may conclude that he was tall. The former, reproduced in the splendid volumes of Bertaux and Schlumberger¹ represents him with roundish face and long nose, clad in a cope, and presenting a book to St. Benedict. The fresco shows him with a stronger face, and as wearing a chasuble, and holding a model of the church in his hands.

On the close of the "investiture" struggle by the Concordat of Worms (1122), Callistus II employed such art as his age then possessed to commemorate it. He first ordered to be attached to the Lateran palace a chapel and an audience chamber, and then proceeded to adorn them. The decoration of the former was completed by the antipope, Anacletus II, and in the conch of the apse was to be seen a fresco exhibiting two Popes with circular nimbus standing one on each side of a seated figure of the Blessed Virgin with her Child. At her feet were the kneeling figures of two other Popes. The square nimbus that surround their heads, names by their sides and inscriptions have enabled them in our days to be correctly identified as Callistus II and Anacletus II. Below this group was a row of eight Popes, each with a circular nimbus. Among them were the six immediate predecessors of Callistus, all of whom had been engaged in the "investiture" dispute. Unfortunately, this most interesting fresco has been destroyed, and only copies of it are extant. As far,

¹ E. B. *L'art dans l'Italie méridionale*, p. 157, G. S., *L'épopée Byzant.*, III fig. 629.

however, as pontifical portraits are concerned, it was, to judge by the criticisms of Grimaldi, who saw it, of no great value; as, according to him, the style in which they were executed was very poor. Still, from the copies of it which we possess by Ciacconius and Grimaldi¹, we not only see well from the full length figures the vestments of the Popes, how they wore a tiara with one crown, the pallium in its present shape, apparels on their albs, and shoes without as yet crosses upon them, but we can at least discern the comparative youth of the antipope, Anacletus². In his newly built audience chamber, Callistus depicted the recent victories of the legitimate Popes over the imperial antipopes. He showed Alexander II triumphing over the antipope Cadalus; Gregory VII, Victor III and Urban II over Guibert of Ravenna; Paschal II³ over Albert, Maginulf, and Theodoric; and himself over Bourdin. Of these frescoes, too, we have only copies preserved by Rasponi⁴. But, whether his copies are inferior or not to their originals, they are certainly worthless for purposes of portraiture, as the various faces are practically exactly alike.

Among the figures in the "apse" fresco of which mention has just been made, was that of Gelasius II (1118-9) the immediate predecessor of Calixtus II. Of this pontiff a more authentic portrait exists in a contemporary manuscript of his *life* by Pandulf Pisanus. A copy made from it was published by the Bollandists in their *Propyleum ad Acta Sanctorum Maii*⁵. The first thing that strikes one in looking at this portrait is that it shows that Gelasius wore a beard. The monuments prove that St. Peter and the earlier Popes all wore beards. Then there followed a period during which they ceased to wear them. This was cast up against them as a crime by the Greeks, who declared that Stephen (VII) VIII (929-31) was

¹ *Cod. Vat.* 5407; and *Cod. Barb. Lat.* n. 4423.

² Cf. G. B. de Rossi, *Esame dell' imagine di Urbano II.* Rome, 1881, and Müntz, *Recherches sur les MSS. de J. Grimaldi*, p. 254, Paris, 1877; *Lib. Pont.* ii. 325, n. 21, and Morey, *Lost mosaics*, p. 63 ff.; Lauer, *Le Latran*, p. 162 ff.

³ S. d'Agincourt, *Hist. of Art*, "Painting", pl. LXIX, n. 13, "traced from the original", gives from *Cod. Vat. Barb.* n. 3577 which is the *Chron. Vulturense* of 1108, an illustration of the monk John presenting his chronicle to Paschal II. The Pope is represented as bright, bearded, seated and wearing a mitre. In his left hand he holds the MS., and his right is raised in benediction. Above him are the words:

"Pastor Paschalis, prudens pius atque suavis", and on the MS. is the answer of the Pope: "Quod bene coepisti, melius tu perfice, fili".

⁴ *De basilica et patriarchio Lateranensi*, pp. 285 and 291. Cf. *Lib. Pont.* ii. 378 f.

⁵ P. 321 of the Antwerp ed. of 1742, and p. 210* of that of Paris 1868.

OF THE MIDDLE AGES

"the first Pope who was shameless enough to shave himself, and to order the rest of Italy to do likewise"¹. Evidently about the beginning of the twelfth century the Popes resumed the habit of wearing the beard. The portrait we are now considering shows Gelasius wearing, not a tiara, but a very low mitre, and a pallium of the same shape, and worn in the same way, as the modern one. Its lappets are, however, longer, and covered with black crosses. His shoes also have crosses upon them. Otherwise he is vested in the same style as the mediaeval Popes generally.

Of another Pope depicted by Calixtus II, namely, Paschal II (1099-1118) there was extant for many centuries an interesting contemporary portrait. During his sojourn in France, Paschal rededicated, after some restorations, the ancient church of the abbey of Ainay in Lyons (1106). In memory of this act, a mosaic pavement was constructed which originally showed the dedication made by Paschal, who, in the style of the time, was represented as holding the church in his hand. The figure of the Pope occupied the centre of the mosaic, but was seemingly destroyed, when the altar was remade, since the two sides of the mosaic still exist. The figure was, however still, in part at least, to be seen in the days of the Lyonese historian Father Menestrier. He writes: "The figure of Pope Paschal who consecrated this church still exists in part... with representations of the scenes, and appropriate verses"².

Another Pope who during this epoch ordered portraits of his predecessors to be painted, was, as we have already stated more than once, the Orsini Pope, Nicholas III. Of his work in that particular enough has already been said. It only remains to add that his own beardless face, depicted probably by the great Roman master, Pietro Cavallini, may still be seen in the *Sancta Sanctorum* chapel which he renewed. The two paintings in the tympanum above the altar show the offering of the new chapel to SS. Peter and Paul, and through them to the Saviour. On the left are the erect figures of the Apostles, and kneeling between them is the Pope with what, appears to be a model of the church in his hand³. It would seem that Nicholas III was

¹ Mann, *Lives of the Popes*, vol. IV, p. 190. It may be added that the Monk of St. Gall, *Vit. Caroli*, I. c. 32, in the 9th cent. speaks of shaving as an Italian custom.

² Cf. F. Artaud, *Hist. de la peinture en mosaïque*, p. 73, f. Lyons, 1735. Unfortunately no copy of the original mosaic was ever made, or at least, has survived.

³ Grisar, *Il Sancta Sanctorum*, p. 47, Rome, 1907. Cf. Ptolemy of Lucca.

the first of the mediaeval Popes to whom a public body erected a statue. A nonagenarian put it upon record that, towards the close of the eighteenth century, he had seen at the end of the mole of the old Roman naval station at Ancona a statue of Pope Nicholas III. It was erected to him by the city for the way in which he had helped it, and "the liberty of the sea"¹. As not even a copy of this unique statue appears now to be known, we must content ourselves with other material to form our mental picture of this distinguished Orsini Pope. Nor can any help be obtained in that direction from the monument numbered 204 in the crypt of the basilica of St. Peter. It presents to us a fine figure of a pontiff on his knees before our Lady, which, at one time, was supposed to be that of Nicholas III². It is now, however, generally believed to be the figure of Eugenius IV.

Of still less use for our purposes is the fantastic figure of Nicholas III with the two bear cubs at his knees of which we give an illustration. It is taken from a book of papal *prophecies* falsely attributed to the famous abbot Joachim of Fiore († 1202) published in the sixteenth century³ and founded very largely on a contemporary mystically illustrated pamphlet entitled: "Incipit initium malorum". This "libellum" is spoken of by the fourteenth century Ghibelline chronicler, the Dominican, Franciscus Pipinus.

Turning now to those Popes who, as far as we know, have ordered only portraits of themselves to be made, we may now allude to an ancient fresco portrait of Pope Nicholas II (1059-81) on a pillar of the famous abbey church of SS. Trinità in Venosa⁴, with an inscription setting forth that he consecrated the Church August 17. 1059⁵; and we may also just allude again to the contemporary fresco

Hist. eccles. l. xxviii. c. 30, where he says that Nicholas rebuilt the S. S. 'ac in superiore parte testudinis picturis... ornata fundari jussit.' Wilpert, *Die Römischen Mosaiken*, i. p. 183, Fig. 57, gives an illustration of the fresco beneath the right door of the reliquary, which, rather faintly certainly, shows Nicholas III. bringing back the relics to the Sancta Sanctorum on the completion of his repairs.

¹ Guglielmotti, *Storia della Marina pontif. nel medio evo*, vol. I. p. 467-8, Florence, 1871.

² Cf. P. I. Dionysius, *Vat. Basil. crypt.* I. p. 179 plate LXXII. Cf. D. Dufresne. *Les cryptes Vaticanes*, p. 106 f.

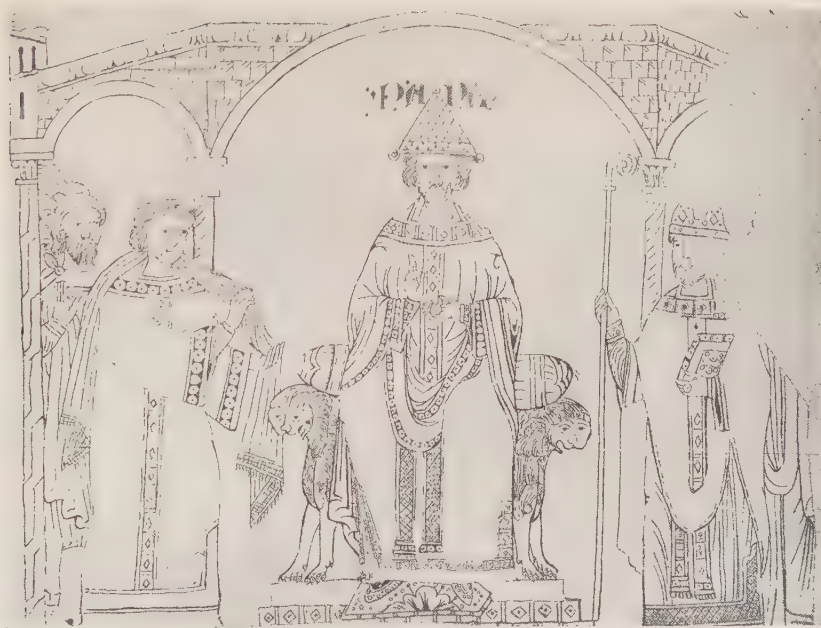
³ *Vaticinia Abb. Joachimi*, Venice 1600. ⁴ *Chron. Lib.* IV, c. 20.

⁴ It is to be found on a wall blocking up the space between two pillars in the remains of the monastery by the right hand side of the entrance of the church.

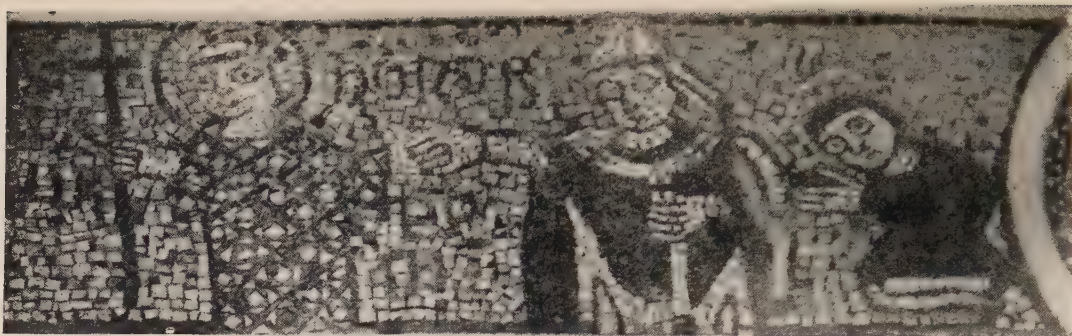
⁵ Cf. Hare, *Cities of S. Italy* p. 301 and A. Avena, *Monumenti dell' Italia Meridionale*, p. 323 ff. The portrait of Nicholas is perhaps not older than the fourteenth century.



50. GELASIUS II (FROM THE BOLLANDISTS).



51. CELESTINE III, FROM A MINIATURE.



53. HONORIUS III.



54. MOSAIC PORTRAIT OF
HONORIUS III IN THE APSE
OF ST. PAUL'S.



52. ALLEGORICAL FIGURE,
PERHAPS THE CHURCH.



55. GREGORY IX.

OF THE MIDDLE AGES

in the apse of the basilica of St. Angelo in Formis near Capua, which shows in the lower zone on the left, the figure of Abbot Desiderius ¹ afterwards Pope Victor III (1086-7). The abbot is depicted as holding in his hands a model of the Church, and as wearing the square nimbus which shows that the fresco was painted whilst Desiderius was still abbot. Unhappily, the fresco is too obscure to enable one to discern the famous abbot's features at all clearly ².

Towards the very beginning of the twelfth century, a contemporary manuscript of the life of Pope Gelasius (1118-9) has furnished us with a portrait of that pontiff. The Bollandists have published a copy of it ³, and from it we can perhaps form some idea of his features and certainly of his vestments. The Pope is shown wearing the low mitre of the period, and giving his blessing from the faldstool at the end of Mass.

We must now pass on to the portrait of Innocent II (1130-43). This second successor of Callistus II imitated him both in adding to the Lateran palace two fresh rooms ⁴, and in ornamenting one of them at least with historical frescoes. These latter were seen by Panvinio in the sixteenth century, and were connected with the coronation of the Emperor Lothaire II at St. John Lateran. They depicted among other events his being received and embraced by the Pope ⁵, and the coronation itself ⁶. We need not pause to consider if the copy which Rasponi has preserved of one of these frescoes is of more value than the others just spoken of, but may perhaps conclude, from the mosaic with which Innocent filled the apse of Sta. Maria in Trastevere, that he wore a beard, was then rather old, and was short and thick-set ⁷.

The mosaic of the facade of this same church contemporary with that of the apse, but much restored, shows in its centre the Virgin with her Child enthroned. Kneeling at her feet are two small figures believed

¹ His name as abbot is to be seen in the inscription which runs round the beautiful cloister of St. Paul's.

"Cetera disposuit bene provida de tra Johannis."

² Cf. P. Parente, *La basilica di S. Angelo in Formis*, p. 63 Cupua V 1912.

³ *Propyl. in mensem Maii*, p. 321 We reproduce the copy.

⁴ *Lib. Pont.* ii. 384. shows the features of Lucius III. (1181-5).

⁵ A copy of this may be seen in Rasponi, *loc. cit.* p. 391.

⁶ Cf. *Chron. reg. Colon.* an. 1156, and Panvinio, *De basilica Lat.* ap. Lauer, *Le palais de Latran*, pp. 478-9.

⁷ This mosaic is often reproduced. It may be seen, *e. g.* ap. Bertaux, *Rome*, i. p. 67. Paris, 1916.

to be those of Innocent II and Eugenius III. The former almost rebuilt the Church in 1139, and the latter completed what he had begun. Of the two figures, the bearded one on the left of the spectator is no doubt that of Eugenius III, and should be compared with the portrait of him to be spoken of presently. If the other figure is that of Innocent II, it certainly cannot be said to resemble the old bearded figure in the apse. The figure on the left is depicted as clad in a red chasuble; that on the right in a blue one ¹

Of Innocent's third successor, namely, Eugenius III, there is a portrait which the Bollandists took from the series of Cavalieri. It reveals, as we should expect from our knowledge of his life, an ascetic face, and is believed to be authentic — for one reason because he is depicted, not in the customary pontifical garb, but with the robe and cowl which he had worn as a Cistercian.

Some forty years after the death of Eugenius († 1153), there succeeded to the pontifical throne Celestine III whose portrait frequently occurs among the miniatures of the original manuscript of his contemporary, Peter of Eboli, and is believed to be the Pope represented in the striking fragment of the oldest *Preconio Pasquale* or *Exultet* which, with its interesting illuminations, has been published by Pieralisi ². Although all these portraits are strictly contemporary with Celestine, they cannot be said to furnish us with any just idea of his features, however valuable they may be for the papal costume of the period.

The figure in high relief on the left wing of the bronze doors of the Oratory of St. John the Evangelist in the Lateran Baptistery — made in the fifth year of Celestine's Pontificate by Cencius Camerarius — was long famous as a portrait of Celestine and is given here on that account. This figure, however, is now generally thought to be allegorical and to represent the Church ³.

¹ Cf. *Cod. Bar. Lat.* n. 4404, giving the drawings which Ecclissi made of these figures in 1640, and see also the plate in J. B. de Rossi, *Mosaici Cristiani delle Chiese di Roma*, Rome, 1899. For the inscriptions which show the work of Innocent II on the apse and Church generally see Armellini, *Le Chiese di Roma*, p. 640-1.

² *Il Preconio Pasquale*, by S. Pieralisi, p. 40 and plate V Rome, 1883.

³ Ciampini, *Vet. mon.* i. p. 239. The figure is clad in a tunic which reaches to the feet, and a chasuble of the ancient pattern, *i. e.*, round and completely closed except for an opening for the head. The kind of hood which rests immediately upon the head is believed by Ciampini to be that distinctively papal vestment known

OF THE MIDDLE AGES

Down to the end of the epoch under consideration, Celestine III had nineteen successors, and there is evidence that portraits of all of them once existed. Indeed, of far the greater number of them the portraits or copies of them or both still exist. We have the likeness in mosaic of Innocent III¹, Honorius III², Gregory IX³, and Nicholas IV⁴. In the note to Honorius III allusion has been made to the very crude mosaic of the frieze of the portico of the basilica of S. Lorenzo fuori-le-mura. On looking at the illustration of the frieze it will at once be seen how coarse it is; but for a long time its signification was by no means so easy to see. The difficulty came from the kneeling figure, until Canon Biasiotti called attention to the red shoes which it is depicted as wearing. The explanation was then clear. The figure was that of Peter of Courtenay who had been crowned emperor of Constantinople in that Church (1217). The red shoes had revealed the Basileus. He is being presented by the Pope to St. Lawrence. If one had to follow most of the authors who have written on the basilica of St. Lawrence, one would expect to find among the frescoes which decorate the portico, and which mostly date from the time of Honorius himself, a picture showing Honorius giving Holy Communion to Peter of Courtenay, who, as we have just said, was, with his wife, Iolanda, crowned by him in this basilica. No such fresco unfortunately is to be found in the portico or anywhere else in the basilica. Among the frescoes in question, there is only one Communion scene; and it belongs to the story of St. Lawrence. It presents the priest Justin giving Communion to St. Cyriaca and other Christians after the martyrdom and burial of St. Lawrence.

Then we have portraits in fresco of Innocent III⁵, Honorius as the *fannon*, which in the portraits in St. Paul's is depicted for the first time on the figure of Pius X. But neither in the time of Celestine III, nor at any other was a Pope ever represented in attire as above described. By some this figure has been interpreted to be the Blessed Virgin Mary.

¹ Preserved from the mosaic he erected in the apse of old St. Peter's.

² In the apse of St. Paul's and in the quaint little mosaic of the frieze of S. Lawrence outside-the-walls.

³ Preserved from the mosaic with which he adorned the façade of old St. Peter's.

⁴ In the apsidal mosaic of St. John Lateran, and also in the splendid one by Jacopo Torriti in St. Mary Major's.

⁵ In the monastery at Subiaco.

III¹, Gregory IX², Innocent IV³, Clement IV⁴, Innocent V, Nicholas III⁵, Celestine V⁶, Boniface VIII⁷, and Benedict XI. Below Monte Morrone in the wild Abruzzi is a small seventeenth century chapel which encloses, however, a choir of the fourteenth century. In that choir is a fresco which Dr. T. Ashby says is of the same age, and which shows our Lord on the cross, our Lady, St. John and Peter Morrone as Pope. Besides the well-known fresco of Innocent IV to which we have just referred, Mr. Bent, in his story of Genoa, mentions another fresco of this Pope of which we have no further knowledge than what he there imparts. He speaks of the archiepiscopal palace "where now on the dingy mouldering walls Innocent's cynical countenance looks out from a dingy mouldering fresco, telling, how he fought and how he crushed the Teuton emperor".

In connection with the frescoes of Boniface VIII we must note that only the one by Giotto is strictly contemporary. The one painted by Simone Martini in the seventh chapel on the right of the church of St. Lorenzo Maggiore was probably executed about the year 1310, when King Robert of Naples went to Siena, and saw and admired the works of Martini and other Sienese artists. He brought Martini back with him to Naples, and caused him to decorate an altar with a picture of his brother, St. Louis of Anjou, archbishop of Toulouse. Below the life-size portrait of the saint, are five small

¹ We give a copy of this fresco that once existed 'ad fores' of the old church of Sta Bibiana of which the copy is preserved in *Cod. Vat.* n. 5407, f. 56 or 104. A curious portrait of the same Pope is to be seen in the *Cod. Barb. Lat.* n. 4423, f. 1 (a smaller copy of the same is given on f. 7). It shows the Pope kneeling at the feet of a crucifix, and the words: 'Fr. Jacob. et. Pniari. (Penitentiarius) et. Cappellan'. For another fresco portrait of Honorius III, see S. de Agincourt, *Hist. of Art*, 'Painting', pl. XCVII. It is a copy of a fresco once in the porch of the monastery of SS. Vincent and Anastasius at the Fontane, Rome.

² The fresco portrait at the Sacro Speco shows Gregory IX consecrating an altar, with the following inscription: "Hic est P.P. Gregorius olim Eps. Hostiensis qui hanc consecravat ecclesiam."

³ At the back of the tomb of his nephew Cardinal William Fieschi in the basilica of St. Laurence outside-the-walls.

⁴ On the portraits of Clement see Nicolas, *Clément IV*, pp. 505 ff.; 554 ff.

⁵ In the chapel known as the Sancta Sanctorum.

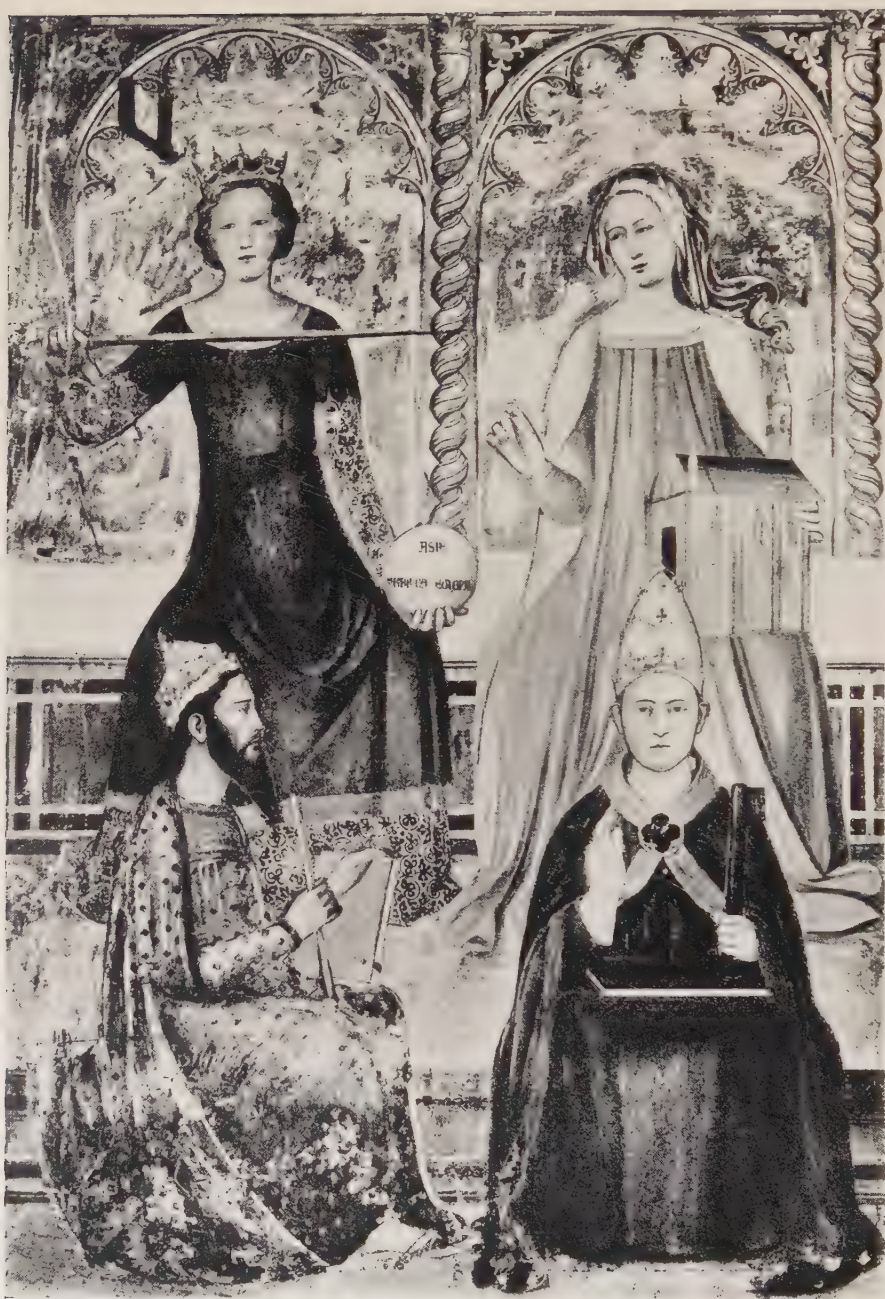
⁶ In the tympanum above the door in the left or north wall of the charming church of S. Maria de Collemagio, where he was crowned.

⁷ The famous one by Giotto now on a pillar in St. John Lateran; and one by Amb. Lorenzetti in Siena—Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte*, v. 197 ff.; and in the Church dell'Incoronata at Naples, and in the church of S. Lorenzo Maggiore by Simone Martini. Cf. *ib.* p. 595.



56. CLEMENT IV.

[Facing p. 124.]



57. BENEDICT XI, BY ANDREA DI BONAIUTO.

[Facing p. 125.]

OF THE MIDDLE AGES

compartments wherein are set out episodes of the life of the saint. In the first compartment the saint, with a number of fellow-Franciscans is seen standing in front of Pope Boniface on his throne; and in the second, he is depicted as receiving episcopal consecration from the same Pontiff. Boniface, wearing a tiara with one finely jewelled crown, is seen in the act of placing the mitre on the head of the kneeling Saint¹ The inscription "Symon de Senis me pinxit" leaves no doubt as to the artist who has left us these two portraits of Boniface. As Vasari assures us that Simone Martini was very fond of drawing from life, it is likely enough that he had at one time made a sketch of Boniface. In any case, about the year 1310 he would have had no difficulty in procuring a likeness of Boniface.

The fresco of Ambrogio Lorenzetti, now in the third chapel to the left of the high altar in the church of S. Francesco in Siena shows Boniface with the same St. Louis before him. The friar appears kneeling before the Pope with his hands within those of the pontiff. This fresco, in Vasari's time in the cloister, is highly praised by that critic. It represents, he says, the way in which a youth becomes a friar, and shows how Lorenzo "excelled in the arrangement and disposition of the figures in his subjects"². This picture was painted, according to Tizio, about 1331³. However, as Lorenzetti lived to the advanced age of eighty-three, he may well have seen Boniface in the flesh⁴.

With regard to the portrait of Benedict XI, it is stated by Vasari⁵ that it was painted on the wall of the Chapter-house of S. Maria Novella by Simone Martini from a likeness given him by Giotto. It is a fact that in the Chapter-house on the wall on the right, between portraits of Philip le Bel and Cardinal Nicola di Prato, there is a portrait of Pope Benedict XI. But it appears that it was the work of Andrea Bonaiuti (1343-77) commonly called Andrew of Florence⁶. In Vasari⁷ we read that Fra Angelico in

¹ The scene is reproduced by Venturi, *l. c.* Cf. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *A hist. of painting in Italy*, III, p. 35 f. fig. 483.

² Venturi, *l. c.* gives an illustration fig. 567 of this fresco also.

³ Vasari in his *Life* of A. L. is more or less in agreement with T. when he says that L's works were executed about 1340.

⁴ Cf. Crowe and C., *l. c.* p. 108.

⁵ Ed. Milanese, i. p. 559.

⁶ So we are informed by the Dominican, Father L. Ferretti, a distinguished art critic. To save trouble to future investigators who may be misled by that tire-

the convent of S. Marco in Florence painted a "Dominican tree", and that one of the medallions on one of the branches thereof is a portrait of Benedict XI which he had copied from a likeness which one of his brother friars had procured from some quarter. It is on the same *tree* that is to be seen, procured in the same way, the portrait of Innocent V.

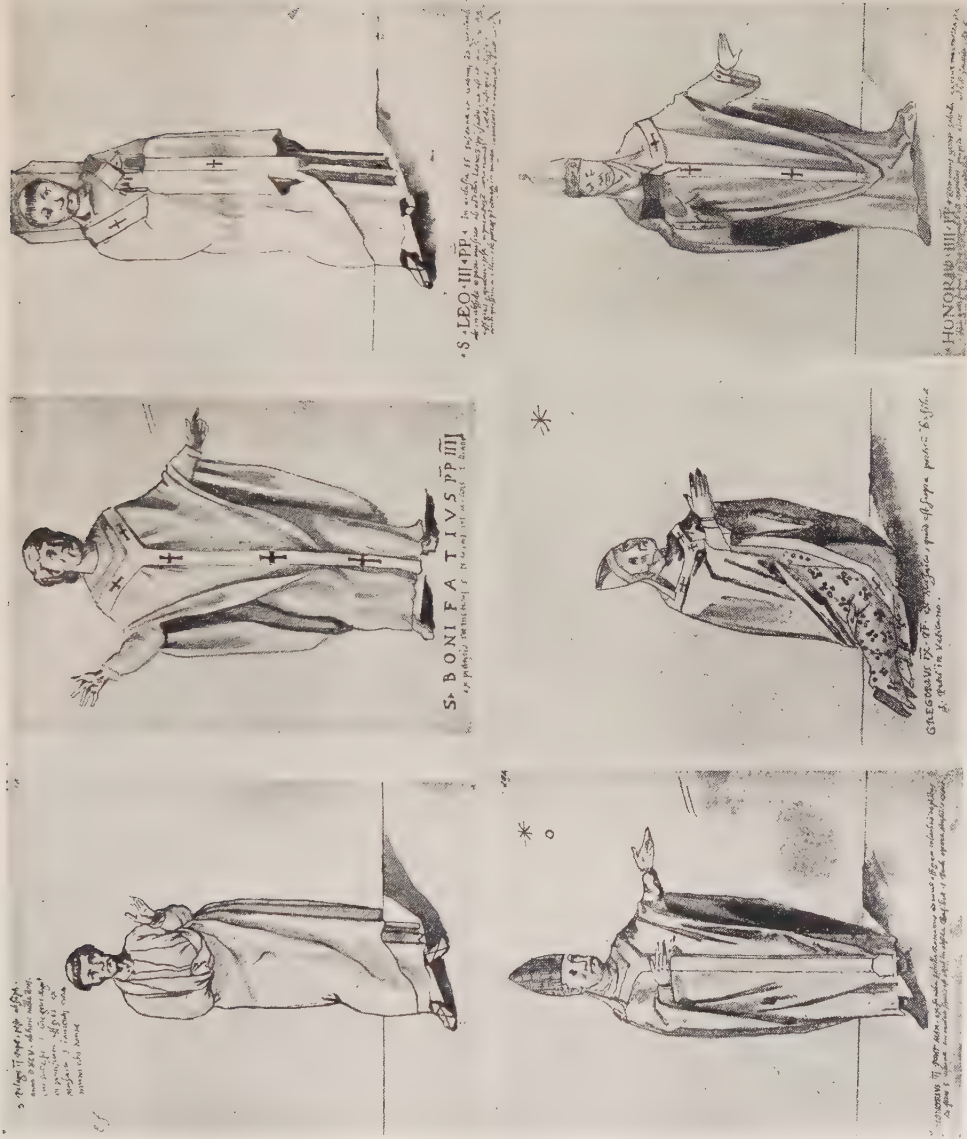
Worthy of special mention, mainly indeed because it is less well known, is a fresco of the Ferrande tower of Pernes (Vaucluse). It is to be found on the third floor of one of those towers which in the south of France served even in the midst of towns and villages as homes and places of defence for the great families of the district. The fresco, now damaged by damp, depicts in the quaintest and crudest manner Charles of Anjou being invested by Clement IV (1265-8) with the kingdom of Sicily. The Pope, whose face is most rudely sketched, is presented as enthroned, and wearing a tiara and a chasuble over which is depicted the pallium. In his left hand he holds two keys which, of the dimensions of a mace, rest on his shoulder, and in his right a square parchment from which hangs a seal. Kneeling close to the Pope's right is Charles, with his hands piously joined and wearing a large crown. On the Pope's left are four mitred cardinals, positively charming from the childish simplicity with which their faces are drawn. This fresco is obviously of greater value for history than for portraiture ¹.

When speaking just now of Andrew of Florence and his splendid frescoes in the chapter-house (the so-called "cappellone degli

some author, Vasari, Father Ferretti has kindly made various researches for me so that I am in a position to say that whether the following portraits ever existed or not, they are no longer extant: Gregory IX. and Innocent IV. by Spinello (i. 686. 681, ed. Milanesi); Celestine IV. and Innocent IV. which Vasari (i. 337) says were the work of Buonamico Buffalmacco from likeness which he had received from his master, Andrea Tafi; Alexander IV, portraits by both the last named artists at Pisa and in old St. Peter's (i. 511); Nicholas IV. by Lorenzo di Bicci (ii. 51); Clement V. by Giotto (i. 387); Clement VI. by Orcagna (i. 601); Urban V. by Pietro Cavallini, and the copy which Fra Angelico is said to have made of it in S. Domenico at Fiesole (i. 539); indeed, in Del Migliore's *Guide to Florence*, it is said that all Cavallini's frescoes were whitewashed when the Dominicans came to St. Mark's; Gregory XI. by Taddeo Bartoli in S. Agostino at Arezzo (ii. 38); Urban VI. by F. Traini (i. 612) and Alexander V. by Lorenzo di Bicci which was at one time in the door 'del Martello' of Sta. Croce in Florence (ii. 51).

⁷ II. 507-8, ed. Milanesi, as always.

¹ Cf. the abbé H. Requin, *L'école avignonnaise de Peinture*, p. 11 ff. Paris, an extract from *La Revue de l'Art*; Nicolas, *Clément IV* p. 334 ff., Nîmes 1910.



58. GRIMALDI'S COPIES OF PORTRAITS.



59. BONIFACE VIII RECEIVING ST. LOUIS OF TOULOUSE.

OF THE MIDDLE AGES

Spagnuoli ") of Sta. Maria Novella, we made no mention of the other papal portrait on the left or west side of the chapel. This was for the simple reason that it is not known to whom it is to be referred. According to Venturi¹, it should be assigned to Innocent IV, but, according to Ferretti, to Gregory IX.

In sculptured marble, as recumbent figures on tombs or as erect statues, we have portraits of Clement IV (tomb at Viterbo); Gregory X (tomb and statues at Arezzo); Hadrian V (tomb at Viterbo by Arnolfo di Cambio)²; John XXI (tomb at Viterbo)³; Honorius IV (tomb in the church of Aracœli, also the work of Arnolfo)⁴; Boniface VIII (tomb by the same artist in the Vatican crypt, and various statues in the same place, and elsewhere)⁵; and Benedict XI (tomb at Perugia by Giovanni Pisano)⁶. Of the recumbent figures those of Gregory X and Boniface VIII are the most important. That of the former, said to be by Margaritone, is an exceptionally fine piece of work; and contemplation of its impressive face serves to deepen our feelings of respect for the saintly Pope who had so much at heart the glory of God, and who had the pleasure of seeing the East and the West once again ecclesiastically united⁷.

Contemplating the calm and beautiful, though firm, features which we see not merely on the figure on the tomb of Boniface VIII, but also on the other numerous statues and frescoes of him that have survived to this day, one cannot suppress the feeling which at once arises, that, whatever may have been the outward character of some of his acts, they must in the main have been the outcome of a lofty motive.

¹ *Storia dell'Arte* It. v. 806.

² On this portrait of Hadrian V see Venturi, *L'Arte*, 1905, p. 256.

³ Grimaldi's copy, *Cod. Barb. Lat.* n. 4406, of a fresco in the nave of old St. Paul's shows the face of this Pope, but on too small a scale to be of any use as a portrait. The triple-crowned tiara on the head of the statue of John XXI would seem to prove that it was carved some time after his death.

⁴ From a statue that once stood above the tomb.

⁵ On the statues of Boniface VIII see C. Sommer, *Die Anklage der Idolatrie gegen P. Bonifaz VIII und seine Porträtstatuen*, Freiburg-i-Br., 1920. The author notes that there was once a silver statue of Boniface at Amiens. See also A. Munoz, *Rassegna d'Arte*, "La scultura barocca a Roma — Le Statue Onorarie" p. 131 ff. and *ib.* 1918 "Le tombe papali" p. 78 ff.

⁶ Venturi, however, *Storia d'Arte*, assigns this fine monument to Niccola and Meo di Nuto.

⁷ On the question of the sculptor of this and the other statues of Gregory X. at Arezzo, see the recent work of A. del Vita in his *Il Duomo d'Arezzo*, p. 22 ff. See also the excellent illustrations of the tomb, etc., there given.

Of the other sepulchral monuments a brief mention must be made of the tomb and figure of Hadrian V. With its excellent proportions and harmonious colouring, it is perhaps the finest of all the Cosmati tombs, and the figure beneath its noble canopy is well cut, showing small regular features in calm repose¹. A word two must also be added about the sepulchral figure of his successor, John XXI (1276-7). The triple crowned tiara on the head of the recumbent statue is enough to show, either that the figure was restored at some period² or what is more probable, that it was made some time after the death of the Pope, and so may not be of any value as a portrait.

Before we leave the subject of the sepulchral portraits of the Popes of the thirteenth century, a word or two more may be said about the fine piece of sculpture now in the Vatican crypt which presents us with a figure of a Pope. It was originally, so it is said, made for the chapel of St. Blaise in old St. Peter's, and was transferred to its present site under Pope Urban VIII in 1623 — at least such is the assertion which is engraved above this piece (n. 204) in the Crypt. The chapel of St. Blaise was built by Poncellus de Ursinis; and another Orsini, Giovanni Gaetano († 1335) cardinal deacon of S. Teodoro, left money for four Masses to be said there³. It is supposed that the figure kneeling on the left of our Lady is this cardinal who is represented as wearing a mitre, while his cardinal's hat is on the ground at his knees. The figure of the Pope kneeling opposite to him with his hands joined in prayer is equally, as we have said, supposed to be Pope Nicholas III⁴, who bore exactly the same name as the cardinal of St. Teodoro. The figure of the Pope is most graceful, and the embroidery on his cope is most delicately carved. One instinctively compares the figure with Cavallini's fresco in the Sancta Sanctorum, and feels it to be a great misfortune that one cannot declare positively to which Pope it belongs, or even be sure that the

¹ Cf. C. Pinzi, *I principali mon. di Viterbo*, p. 131, Viterbo, 1916. See also in *L'Arte*, 1905 p. 25, an article by A. Venturi, "Arnolfo di Cambio opere ignote del Maestro".

² Cf. Cristofori, *Le tombe dei Papi in Viterbo*, p. 277 f.

³ *Liber Anniv.* 15 May, cited by Cerrati in his edition of Alpharans De Basilic. Vat., p. 75 n.

⁴ Dionysius, *Mon. Vat. Crypt.* p. 179 and Plate LXXI. Dufresne, *Les cryptes Vaticanes*, p. 106 refrains from giving a name to the kneeling papal figure and not observing the cardinal's hat, calls the other figure that of a bishop.



60. VERY PROBABLY EUGENIUS IV. FROM THE OLD BASILICA OF ST. PETER.

[Facing p. 128.



61. URBAN V (FROM A DRAWING IN THE DAL POZZO COLLECTION AT WINDSOR. BY PERMISSION OF HIS MAJESTY THE KING).

[Facing p. 129.]

OF THE MIDDLE AGES

whole beautiful piece in which it occurs came from the altar of St. Blaise ¹.

A few of the portraits of the Popes of this age have been delicately traced in miniature, and even delineated by the needle. On the Ascoli cope, the adventures of which in recent years brought it so strongly to the public notice, we see the faces of four successive Popes from Innocent IV to Clement IV. But a glance at the lovely features given them is enough to show that they are merely the outcome of the imagination of some pious nun ². The loss at least of one of these "woven" papal portraits is certainly matter for regret. In the inventory of the valuables belonging to the Pope's *Trésor* in the days of Boniface VIII, there is mention of a *dorsale* (a hanging, a piece of tapestry) in which was worked the image of Gregory X presenting Michael Palaeologos to St. Peter ³. The disappearance of this interesting memorial of the Union of the Greek and Latin Churches in 1274 is perhaps no great loss to papal portraiture, but it is certainly a considerable one to many branches of art and history.

Their contemporary *Registers* furnish us with miniature portraits of Innocent III and Gregory IX; but they cannot be regarded as likenesses. It is true that the portrait of Innocent III is so far correct that it shows him as a comparatively youthful Pope, for so he was; but the register of Gregory IX, while offering us a more finely executed portrait, makes a young man of a Pope who mounted the throne of Peter when very much advanced in years. A more or less contemporary manuscript ⁴, has a very neat miniature showing Innocent IV, represented with a dark beard and face, giving a copy of the Decretals to the professors of the University of Bologna. An absolutely contemporary manuscript, the *Liber recuperationis Terre Sancte* of Bro. Fidentius of Parma, has a miniature in which the worthy friar

¹ Lisetta M. Ciaccio, *L'Arte*, 1906, p. 184 believes that the kneeling Pope is John XXII (1334) the contemporary of the cardinal, but the authoress with perhaps good reason considers the carving to date from the second half of the fifteenth century.

² They may be studied in the illustrations given by E. Bertaux, '*Trésors d'Eglises*, Ascoli Piceno,' ap. *Mélanges d'archéol.*, 1897, p. 77 ff.

³ Molinier, *Inventaire du Trésor du S. Siège*, p. 82, Paris 1888.

⁴ *Cod. Vat. Palat. lat.*, 629 fol. 262 reproduced ap. Goyau, *Le Vatican*, p. 105 Paris, 1865. An *ancona* of 1283 gives a full length portrait of St. Clare. Round her figure are depicted various scenes of her life. One shows Innocent IV giving the saint a palm. Cf. Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte*, V. fig. 80.

is seen presenting his book to the Pope Nicholas IV (1288-94) ¹. Much superior to the other miniatures of which we have spoken or have still to speak is the one in the Capitular Archives of the Vatican which shows Pope Celestine V giving a book of the Gospels to cardinal Gaetano, afterward Boniface VIII. The shaggy bearded grave face of the Pope is extraordinarily well brought out.

To finish with these little illuminated miniatures which, after all, are of no great value for portraiture purposes, we may adduce two more which refer to Benedict XI, the last Pope of the period now under discussion. The first shows him as cardinal Nicholas Boccasini and is to be found in a Vatican manuscript ². It is a miniature of the fourteenth century and depicts Nicholas Trevet the writer of the manuscript offering it to the cardinal who is seen clothed in red, and wearing a low Gothic mitre.

The other, equally a miniature of the fourteenth century, is to be found on the fly-leaf of a collection of bulls in the Vannucci picture-gallery of Perugia. It depicts the concession of an indulgence by this Dominican Pope to the Church of St. Dominic in that city. The cortile of the monastery covered with drapery serves as a background. The Pope is seated on a lofty throne with outstretched hand in the act of blessing, or more probably in the act of addressing those in front of him. On his right are Cardinals and Priors of the Commune, and on his left bishops, while the friars defile before him to kiss his feet ³.

Lastly, the engraver has, it is believed, preserved for us a likeness of a Pope that is now lost. From Cavalieri, the Bollandists give a portrait of the Dominican Pope, Innocent V, which they believe to have been copied by him from a contemporary painting, probably in Sta. Maria sopra Minerva, or in Sta. Sabina. They were led to this belief by the monkish garb and especially by the large hood which the Pope is depicted as wearing. The hood is like that seen in old portrait of St. Dominic, which is larger than that now worn by his followers ⁴.

¹ It is reproduced by Golubovich in his edition of the brother's report: *Bibliotec. dell' Oriente Frances.* vol. II p. 8.

² *Urbinates Latini*, 355 f. 5.

³ Cf. A. Lupatelli, *Benedetto XI in Perugia*, Rome 1903, and his *Mostra di Arti in Perugia*, p. 14, Rome 1907.

⁴ *Propylaeum ad Acta SS. Maii*, pars Papebrochii, p. 105. Anof. Panvinio also, *Cod. Barb. Lat.*, 2738, f. 39 n. 187, shows him as a black friar.

As for the two remaining Popes (Celestine IV and Martin IV) out of the nineteen successors of Celestine III, we have to confess to failure to find any existing contemporary portraits of them. According to Vasari¹, indeed, Buonamico Buffalmacco painted a portrait of the former after a drawing he had received from his master, Andrea Tafi. Unfortunately, however, it is not now to be found, nor is the tomb of Martin IV by Giovanni Pisano. Were it extant it would no doubt have furnished us with his marble effigy².

It may be, however, that, after all, it is only Martin IV for whose face and form there is no other source than each one's imagination; for Onofrio Panvinio³ has given, after some authority or other, a representation of a bust of Celestine IV wearing a red *camauro* and a *mozzetta* with white fur.

There now only remain for discussion the portraits of the Popes during the "Babylonian Captivity", i.e., during the period of their residence at Avignon, and during the Great Schism of the West. When the Popes, perhaps forced by the turbulence of the Romans, left their City on the Tiber, and took up their abode by the Rhone, art also abandoned the Eternal City, and followed them to Avignon. Thus deserted by art and by the Popes, Rome well nigh completely withered away like the fig-tree cursed by our Lord. In fact, speaking generally, the whole of the fourteenth century was a disastrous epoch not merely for Rome but for all Europe. The terrible wars between England and France, and the great plagues blasted the face of the country and lowered the intellectual level of Europe, especially in the West. There was not, however, an absolutely universal decline in every branch of art and literature. Among the arts there was a great development of portraiture. When Vasari, in his *Life of Giotto*, tells us that that artist introduced "the practice of making good portraits of living persons, a thing which had not been in use for more than two hundred years", there may be exaggeration, but the impetus which Giotto admittedly gave to art in general, awoke a deepened interest in portrait painting. Portraits in miniature also show a great development in drawing

1305-1417.

¹ i. p. 337.

² Cf. Marrotti, *Lett. pit. perug.* p. 21.

³ *Cod. Lat. Monac.* 158, f. 56 ap. Hartig, *Des O. Pan. Sammlung* p. 313.

during the course of the fourteenth century. They had greatly improved in the thirteenth century, and are regarded as having reached their apogee in the fifteenth century¹. Accurate portraiture then was looked for in the fourteenth century; and if proof of this is needed, appeal may be made to the story cited by Lethaby² of Charles VI. When he "was about to marry (1385), painters were sent abroad to bring him portraits of marriageable princesses". Isabella of Bavaria was approved, as "*belle, jeune, et gente*". Accordingly there arose a general desire to see and to possess portraits of well-known people, and so Petrarch tells us of one of his admirers at Bergamo who had "his arms, name and portrait" in every corner of his house³. The portraits of Blessed Urban V (1362-70) were found painted "not only in the greater part of all the churches of Rome, but in many others all over Christendom"⁴, which helps to explain the fact that in the famous Dal Pozzo collection of drawings at Windsor (nn. 893, 920, 922) there are three copies of portraits of Urban. Vasari's biographies are full of examples of artists taking sketches of celebrities, and giving them to their pupils; and it became from this period onwards a very common practice with painters (we have already seen examples of it) to insert in their historical or allegorical paintings when they wished to introduce a Pope, authentic portraits of contemporary Pontiffs. Raphael, for instance, to take an example from a later period, introduced Julius II into his "Expulsion of Heliodorus"; in his "Encounter with Attila", Leo X replaces Leo I; and in his "Burning of the Borgo", Leo X replaces yet another Leo, namely Leo IV. Finally, one of the very earliest, if not the earliest, collectors and publishers of papal portraits, the distinguished antiquarian, Onofrio Panvinio, says, on the second page (the pages are not numbered) of his book⁵, that, owing to the revival of the art of painting, the

¹ Cf. Vasselot, *l. c.* pp. 37, 38, 44.

² *Mediaeval Art* p. 241.

³ *Epp. Famil.*, xxi. 11.

⁴ Albanès-Chevalier, *Actes anciens*, p. 377, ap. Mollat, *Etude critique sur les Vitae Pap. Aven.*, p. 57.

⁵ XXVII. *Pontif. Roman. Elogia et imagines accuratissime ad vivum aeneis typis delineatae*, Rome, 1568. I owe the use of this book to the courtesy of Dr. T. Ashby, the Director of the British School, and I take this opportunity of thanking him and Mrs. A. Strong, once assistant Director of the School, for the kind help they have given me in the preparation of this work. Cf. "Des O. Panvinus Samm-



BONIFACIUS , IX . PAPA , NEAPOLITANVS ,

62. BONIFACE IX.



63. BONIFACE VIII.

[Facing p. 132.]



64. BONIFACE VIII, IN THE CATHEDRAL, FLORENCE,



65. BONIFACE VIII PROCLAIMING HIS FIRST JUBILEE.

portraits of the Popes from the time of Urban VI. were painted from life (*ad vivum*), and in his book copies of them were struck from metal plates (*typis aeneis*). He goes on to observe that portraits existed from Boniface VIII. onwards, and that, if not of the same elegance and perfection as the later ones, they were good considering 'the condition of the times' in which they were produced. He began his own series, which he carried down to Gregory XIII. (1572-85), with Urban VI., 'because from him we have a continuous series of papal portraits painted from life' ¹.

In view of this specific statement, and in view of the fact that the mosaics of the Popes of the Great Schism in St Paul's resemble for the most part ² the engravings of Panvinio, it may now be acknowledged that the said mosaics are authentic likeness, not merely from Martin V., but at least from the days of Urban VI. Another cause of the greater accuracy of the portraits of this period was the development of the custom of taking plaster castes or masks of living people: One of the rare books on Art of the middle Ages is *Il libro d'Arte* of Cennino Cennini. Written in 1437 "in the reverence of God and His Saints, and in reverence of Giotto" ³, the book recommends that in the case of nobles, kings, Popes and Emperors, the artist should mix his plaster for the masks with rose water! ⁴ We may, then, without further ado pass on to the Avignon Popes.

When Panvinio asserted that papal portraits existed from Boniface VIII. onwards, he certainly chose a good starting-point. The number of portraits in marble, in metal, and in fresco of that outstanding Pontiff which have come down to us is quite exceptional for that period. We have of him marble statues by such masters

lung von Papstbildnissen," by O. Hartig, ap. *Historisches Jahrbuch*, Munich, 1917, p. 284 ff. Cf. *Cod. Barb. Lat.*, 2738.

¹ Cf. in the Vatican library, *Cod. Barb. Lat.* 2738 of the same author.

² Fig. 14 is a reproduction of one of his plates. It is different from the one in the Munich collection. See Hartig, *l. c.*, p. 312. The Munich copperplate of John XXIII. is after Donatello, *Ib.*, p. 313. It cannot be said that the Mosaic of John XXIII in St. Paul's resembles Panvinio's engraving of him. But as Panvinio's portrait is that of a younger man wearing a mitre, he may have taken his likeness from a portrait made before John became Pope. The portrait of Boniface IX. which we give (Fig. 62) from his sepulchral monument resembles that in the cloister of St. Paul's. Cf. the miniature from *Cod. Vat. Lat.* n. 3747 f. 39 v. reproduced in Goyau, *Le Vatican*, p. 673.

³ P. 1 ed. Milanese Firenze, 1859; and Eng. trans. by Mrs. Merrifield, London, 1844, of an earlier edition. ⁴ *Ib.* c. 184 Milanese; 166 Merrifield.

as Andrea Pisano¹ and Arnolfo da Cambio, and frescoes by Giotto and other early masters². He was the first Pope in the Middle Ages to whom communities erected statues³. But, speaking broadly, we are not so well supplied with portraits of his seven successors at Avignon. One would have thought that the effigies on their tombs, some of which are so imposing, would have furnished us with speaking likenesses of the great French Popes who so strikingly impressed themselves on the soil of Provence. Most unfortunately, however, their recumbent figures, like the noble canopies beneath which they rested, have for the most part been mutilated either by the Calvinists and revolutionaries or by the criminal neglect of those to whose care they were entrusted. The figures, indeed, of two of them have been completely destroyed⁴.

One would have hoped that the careful restoration of the great fortress palace of the Popes at Avignon which has been in progress now for some years and has brought to light frescoes hidden under whitewash, would have revealed some papal portraits. We know indeed that, in the hall of the Consistory, Clement VI caused four such portraits to be painted — no doubt those of his three immediate predecessors and himself⁵. These would seem, however, to have perished completely, and, so far, no others have been discovered.

Clement V.

The statues of Clement V., the first of the Avignon Popes, have fared especially badly. The recumbent figure on his tomb at Uzeste has been so damaged that it is quite useless for portrait purposes. Until quite recently, however, it was thought that his features could

¹ At any rate Vasari (i. 483-4) states that the statue of him ('opera di stil grandioso e mirabilmente... condotta'), now unfortunately mutilated, which has after many wanderings found its way into the cathedral of Florence, was made by Pisano at the request of the Florentines. Venturi (*Storia d'Arte*, iv. 153-4) asserts that, if it was not the work of Arnolfo, it shows traces of his influence. An engraving of it may be seen (Plate 32) in L. Cicognara, *Storia della scultura*, i. Venice 1813.

² C. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History of Painting*, II, 98; and Venturi, *Storia d'Arte*, v. 595, 698-9.

³ C. Ricci, *Santi ed Artisti*, p. 29 f. There is still in existence a half-figure by Arnolfo da Cambio now in the Crypt of the Vatican.

⁴ Cf. E. Müntz in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1887, vp. 276-85 and 367-87. See also on the Papal Avignon tombs: "Die Zerstörung der Grabdenkmäler der Päpste von Avignon," by Ern. Steinman ap. *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, Leipzig, 1918, p. 145 ff.

⁵ This we know from items of expenses taken from the papal accounts and published by Ehrle, *Hist. bib. Rom. Pont.* I 638. Cf. Rob. André-Michel, "Matteo di Viterbe" in *Bib. de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 1913 p. 346, and L. H. Labande, *Le palais des Papes d'Avignon*, in two fine volumes, Marseilles, 1925.

be recovered from the statue of him over the door of the north transept of the Cathedral of St. Andrew at Bordeaux. But it has been conclusively proved by de Lapouyade that the original head of the statue was destroyed during the Revolution, and that another head, too small for the neck, has replaced it¹. We have however some pictures of him. Panvinio gives a fine full figure of Clement V. seated², and the sacristy of what was once the Cathedral of St Bertrand de Comminges boasts a picture which by an inscription below it, proclaims itself to be a true likeness (*vera effigies*) of him. It at any rate puts before us a benevolent looking ecclesiastic with white hair and beard, with his right hand on his breast, and his left holding the bull by which he gave the "special jubilee" to the city of which the above-mentioned inscription speaks. The picture may be "a true likeness", but it may be doubted whether it is a contemporary one. The tiara by his side with its three fleur-de-lys crowns is enough to settle the question. It was only under Benedict XII. (1334-42) that the Popes began to wear the triple-crowned tiara. Are we then to be driven back on Cavalieri for a contemporary likeness of Clement V? For despite Vasari, it does not appear that Giotto ever painted his portrait. It has been thought that the engraving of Clement in Cavalieri's work has been taken from a genuine picture of him. It gives to the Pope an uncovered, bald, massive head with a broad face and somewhat heavy features, but it also gives him very unusual vestments, unlike those worn by a Pope, and showing no trace of the pallium. It seems then only reasonable to conclude that Cavalieri has copied some portrait of Bertrand de Goth painted before he became Clement V., perhaps when he was archdeacon of Bordeaux³. Nevertheless, however, we cannot help thinking that Cavalieri drew his inspiration from the "true likeness" we have just been considering. There is too much resemblance between the exceptional papal vestments which the two pictures present for one to be able to come to any other conclusion⁴.

In a chapel of the cathedral at Avignon there is to be seen a lofty John XXII. Gothic canopy, damaged indeed, but still imposing, over a tomb upon which rests a mitred figure. It is not, however, a complete statue of John XXII., a Pope great in mind but small in body. As in the

¹ Cf. his 'La statue de Clément V'. ap. *Revue hist. de Bordeaux*, 1912, p. 1 ff.

² *Cod. Barb.* n. 2738 f. 42 v.

³ Cf. the Bollandists, *Propyl. ad mens. Mai.*, Pars Pavbrochii, p. 106.

⁴ Cf. G. Brun, *Uzeste et Clément V*, p. 164 ff. for a discussion on the portraits of Clement.

case of Clement V. the original head of the statue was destroyed, and in this instance has been replaced by the head of a bishop taken from some other statue. Müntz has called attention to the fact that an indifferent sketch of the eighteenth century shows that the original figure was beardless¹, and that another sketch shows that the tiara he wore had only two crowns². We know, however, the eager young-looking face of John XXII. from Ciacconius' copy of the mosaic which he placed over the portico of St. Paul's which he restored and decorated³.

We know it also from the original mosaic itself. That early historian of art, Lorenzo Ghiberti speaking of the works of the great artist, Pietro Cavallini, says that he made a mosaic for the façade of St. Paul's⁴. This he did at the order of Pope John XXII and so John was introduced into the mosaic, as may be seen in the sixth plate of Nicolai's fine folio on the basilica of St. Paul's outside-the-walls⁵. In the upper part of the façade, the four spaces between the walls of the basilica and three windows were filled with mosaics. The one on the extreme left was occupied by St. Paul, and the next one by our Lady, while the one on the extreme right was taken up by St. Peter and the next inner one by St. John the Baptist. This last is the mosaic that concerns us now. It showed the Saint standing erect between two palm trees and carrying in his left hand a disc on which was depicted the "Lamb of God". His right hand rested on the tiara of Pope John XXII who was kneeling by his side, with his hands clasped in prayer and looking up to Our Lord, who is seen in a medallion above the centre window. When in 1823 the noble basilica was unhappily destroyed by fire, the section of the façade

¹ So also does the copy of John's mosaic at St. Paul's. Cf. L. Duhamel, *Le tombeau de Jean XXII à Avignon*, Avignon, 1887, in some respects fuller and more accurate than Müntz.

² As the tiara of Benedict XII. has three crowns, perhaps he was the Pope who added the third crown to the tiara.

³ See *Cod. Vat. Lat.* 5407, f. 63 or 118. From the pose, etc., of his figure, it is clear that Cavalieri has taken his portrait of John XXII. from this mosaic. This is one proof that he copied existing models when he could find them. The frontispiece of M. Faucon's *La librairie des Papes d'Avignon*, Paris, 1886 is a copy of a very pleasing miniature showing John blessing friar Grenier who is offering him a book.

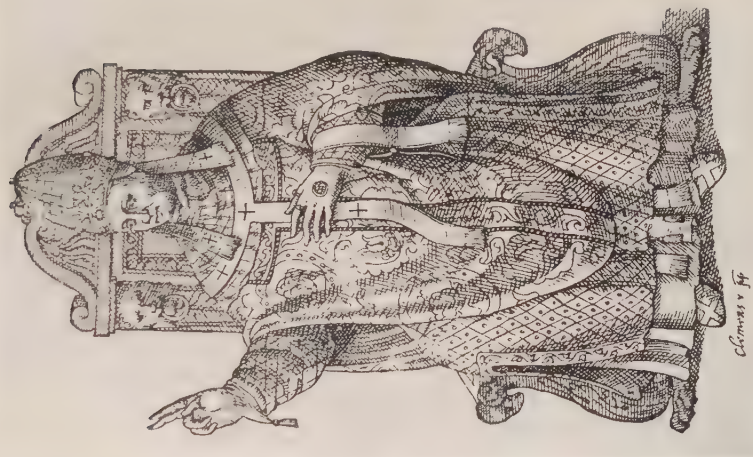
See also L. Duhamel, *Le Tombeau de Benoît XII à Avignon, Caen*, 1889.

⁴ "In Sancto Pagolo era di musayco la faccia dinanci" *Commentarii*, c. 9. p. 39, ed. C. Frey, Berlin 1886.

⁵ *Della basilica di S. Paolo*, by N. M. Nicolai, Rome, 1815.



66. CLEMENT V (FROM CAVALLIERI)



67. CLEMENT V (FROM ONOFRIO PANVINIO, COD. BARB. LAT. 2738, F. 42 V).



68. BENEDICT XII.

[Facing p. 136.]



69. JOHN XXII.

containing the figures of Pope John and his patron Saint was saved from the general ruin. On the erection of the present basilica, it was built into the arch of the apse, where it may now be seen. We give an illustration of it from a photograph which we had taken. We believe this is the first time it has been photographed.

To revert for a moment to the recumbent figure of John XXII beneath the canopy of his tomb. When in 1759 the well-known antiquarian Giuseppe Garampi published in Rome his *Illustrazione di un antico sigillo della Garfagnano*, it would seem that the head of the statue now lost was then in its place. At any rate on plate four at the end of his book, Garampi gives an illustration of the head of John XXII. He says that he was able to give the illustration by reason "of a most exact design" of it which was supplied to him by the bishop of Avignon, and, in his explanation of it, he calls it "the head of the sepulchral statue of John XXII. which is near the sacristy of the metropolitan church of Avignon"¹. There is evidently question of the missing head of the existing recumbent figure. It shows a face, small, spare, ascetic. John's tiara is a most interesting one. It is the link between the two-crowned tiara of Boniface VIII and the three-crowned one of Benedict XII, because its second crown is made up of two, one with the fleurons pointing upwards and the other with them pointing downwards.

In his sepulchral monument and figure in the same cathedral Benedict XII. (1334-42) has suffered even worse than his predecessor. *Benedict XII.* In Benedict's case neither the monument nor the figure on it is original. The form, however, of the original mausoleum is known to us from an engraving in the volume of the Bollandists we have frequently quoted; and the remains of it, still preserved in the Musée Calvet at Avignon, prove that their design is sufficiently exact. It was the work of John Lavenier, or 'John of Paris'². The monument now given to Benedict is really that of cardinal John of Cros. Similarly from a report of 1689, we know that the original recumbent figure of Benedict was 'of white marble, of life-size, clad in pontifical

¹ P. 94-5, 136. Franc. de Manzi was bp. of A. 1757-74. E. Müntz has reproduced the illustration of Garampi in two places — in his article *Les tombeaux des Papes en Allemagne et en France* p. 354 in *Revue de l'art chrétien*, 1896 and in his paper *La tiare pontificale* p. 46 Paris 1887. A miniature of John XXII may be seen in the frontispiece of M. Faucon's *La librairie des Papes d'Avignon*, Paris 1886.

² Cf. Faucon, 'Les arts à la cour d'Avig.' ap. *Mélanges d'archéol.*, 1884, p. 100.

vestments with the pallium and a tiara ' with three crowns ¹. But the figure now to be seen beneath the canopy was only made in the last century by a sculptor named Cournot ². To find an authentic effigy of Benedict XII. we must descend into the Vatican crypts, and there we shall find a marble half figure. Certainly Benedict deserved to have a monument in St. Peter's, for the repairs he caused to be executed therein saved the venerable basilica from complete ruin. Accordingly over the door of the nave a monument with the above-mentioned figure was erected in 1341 by Pierre Laurent, the *Altararius* of St. Peter's. It was made, as the accompanying inscription states, by 'Magister Paul of Siena', who received 'twenty florins of gold' for his work. When the old basilica was destroyed, only the effigy, which was originally painted in red and gold, was preserved. If not a first-class piece of sculpture, it shows us the Pope's face such as his biographers have described it, namely, as full, fat and clean-shaven. The illustration we give of it will save us from the necessity of further describing it ³. (Figure 68) Again does the enterprise of Cardinal Garampi throw light on the situation. At his request, Bishop Manzi sent him also a copy of the head of the recumbent figure of Benedict which was then intact in the chapel of the tailors (*sartori*), in the cathedral of Avignon. From it we see that the shapely Gothic tiara is now at length adorned with three separate and distinct crowns, and that the description of the face of Benedict XII which has just been given is further justified ⁴.

Clement VI.

With Clement VI. (1342-52) we come to the most magnificent even of the Avignon Popes, to the chief builder of their great fortress palace. He caused his mausoleum to be erected during his lifetime in the monastery of Chaise-Dieu where he had been a monk ⁵.

¹ Müntz, *Gazette*, 1887, p. 370-1.

² *Ib.* p. 373. See also Dufresne, *Les Cryptes Vatic.*, p. 13-15.

³ Cf. also 'Le monument de Benoît XII'. ap. *Mélanges d'archéol.* 1896, p. 293 ff. by G. Daumet; Filippini, *La scultura nel trecento in Roma*, p. 101 f. and p. 123; and L. Duhamel, *Le tombeau de Benoît XII*, Caen 1889. Again we may note that Cavalieri's engraving is taken from an original, viz. the effigy just discussed.

⁴ Garampi, *l. c.* pp. 95 and 136, and Müntz as before.

⁵ Cf. the Bollandists, *l. c.* p. 89.** The body of Clement VI. was transferred to the Abbey of Chaise-Dieu (Haute-Loire) in April, 1353. A. Hallays gives an illustration of a fragment of his tomb in the Musée Calvet in his *Les Villes d'Art célèbres, Avignon*, Paris, 1909, p. 108. It is a mistake for Clement VII. Clement VI had originally caused his tomb to be erected in the middle of the monks' choir, and had adorned it with no less than forty-four small statues. Cf. E. Déprez, 'Les funérailles de

OF THE MIDDLE AGES

After his death his body was duly deposited in the Cathedral, but was subsequently transferred to the monastery. Unfortunately, however, the canopy was destroyed, and the recumbent figure much damaged in the wars of religion in 1562. But, apparently, the latter was skilfully restored some time afterwards, and now presents to our gaze a beardless refined-looking face, beneath a beautiful three-crowned pointed tiara.

It is a great pity that Orcagna's portrait of Clement no longer exists. According to Vasari that distinguished artist painted a fresco in the middle of the Church of Sta. Croce, in Florence, on a large wall on the right. In it he introduced the portraits of some of his dearest friends into his Paradise, while he condemned his enemies to hell. Among the elect was to be seen in Vasari's time the portrait in profile of Clement VI¹. It is believed, however, that in a miniature of the Vatican Archives² there has been preserved a portrait of Clement VI. The book in which it is found was dedicated to this Clement, and as it begins with a notice of Clement IV., it is thought that in conformity with the ideas of the times, the accompanying figure of Clement IV. gave the likeness of Clement VI.

For a long series of years the palace of the Popes at Avignon was, to the discredit of the French people, used as a barracks. A few years ago, however, the soldiers were sent away, and with a view of turning the palace into a museum the work of restoration has been commenced. Already the removal of layers of whitewash has revealed valuable frescoes, by Matteo di Viterbo and Simone Martini, etc. Of Simone, Vasari relates that he was summoned to Avignon very urgently "con grandissima istanza", that he executed a great deal of work there in fresco and on panels, and that he was very fond

Clement VI. et d'Innocent VI.' ap. *Mélanges*, 1900, p. 235 ff. and Bréhier, *L'art chrétien*, pp. 283, 369.

¹ Ed. Milanese, i. 601, 'Ritratto di naturale.' It has been said that 'di naturale' in Vasari means 'life-sized'. The present passage and others show that very often at least it means 'from life.' Cf. especially *ib.* i. 612 and ii. 507-8.

² Ms. Vat. Archiv. Armadio, 35, t. 70, *De Siciliae regno*, by the Aragonese cardinal, Nicholas Roselli. The most interesting portrait of Clement VI. is to be seen in the miniature at the top of his bull "Unigeniti Dei Filius" (Jan. 28 1343) in which he shortened the recurrence of the year of Jubilee to every fiftieth instead of every hundredth year. A copy of this delicately illuminated bull may be seen in F. Garopoli's *Anno Jubilaei Romae*, 1925. The miniature gives support to the restored sepulchral figure, though the features shown by it are not quite so young and refined looking as those of the stone monument.

of drawing portraits from life. Indeed, in this last particular he was, according to the same writer, the best master of his time so that he was employed to draw portraits of Petrarch and Laura¹. Further we know from the papal account books that Matteo de Viterbo "the artist (pictor) of our Lord the Pope (Clement VI)" was paid for painting, in the hall of the Consistory a coronation scene (believed to be the Coronation of our Lady) and "four Popes"². Müntz does not hesitate to conclude that the Popes mentioned were the first four Avignon Popes, i. e., Clement V, John XXII, Benedict XII, and Clement VI³. Under these circumstances, one is no doubt justified in expecting that the restoration of the palace will bring to light at least one papal portrait. So far, however, such legitimate expectations have not been realized.

Innocent VI

Innocent VI (1352-62) imitated his predecessor in causing his mausoleum to be made during his lifetime. Both its Gothic canopy, in the same imposing style as that of John XXII., and the recumbent figure beneath it are happily in a fairly good state of preservation. The monument was at first in a chapel of the Church of the Chartreuse at Villeneuve-lès-Avignon, but is now in the chapel of the hospice. The figure of the Pope in fine Pernes stone which looks like marble is shown crowned with a tiara with three crowns. The face, with closed eyes in peaceful repose, has a long, delicately shaped nose, a small mouth, and a beard. Innocent is the only Pope of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries who wore a beard; Julius II. was the first to imitate his example, and to set the fashion for his age⁴.

Innocent VI resembles Clement VI in this, too, that his portrait has been preserved in miniature. In another Vatican MS.⁵ he is depicted on one page as investing Charles IV of Anjou with the city of Ancona, and on another page as standing erect by himself.

¹ *Vite*, I, p. 547, 559-60 ed. Milanesi.

² F. Ehrle (now cardinal) *Hist. bib. Rom. Pont.* I. p. 638. His Eminence hesitates to accept the ascription of the "four Popes" to Clement VI and the others.

³ *Les peintures de S. Martini*, p. 19 Paris, 1885. The most recent accounts of the work done on the palace of the Popes are: *Avignon*, by R. André-Michel, Paris, 1920, and especially, L. H. Labande, *Le palais des Papes d'Avignon*, Marseille, 1925, already out of print.

⁴ Cf. R. Michel, 'Le tombeau du P. Innocent VI. à Villeneuve-lès-Avignon,' ap. *Revue de l'Art Chrétien*, 1911, p. 204 ff.

⁵ Armadio, 35. Tom xx. pp. 7 and 8 v. *I giuramento di fedeltà all' Inn. VI. per il cardinale Egidio Albornoz*. The knowledge of these miniatures I owe to Mgr. Ugolini, and I take this opportunity of thanking him for his courtesy.



70. CLEMENT VI.



71. INNOCENT VI.



72. INNOCENT VI.



73. CLEMENT VI, FROM HIS TOMB.



74. URBAN V, FRAGMENT OF HIS BUST.

OF THE MIDDLE AGES

In both cases, as in that of the figure on his tomb, the face of the Pope is given a beard.

Innocent VI was succeeded by Urban V, the saint among the French Popes. As we have already noted, his portrait was soon to be found everywhere, and even at the present day there is no lack of them. We give a specimen of the three to be found among the Windsor drawings¹. Apart from its value as a portrait (and it may be said that it resembles the other portraits of Urban sufficiently well) it is interesting inasmuch as it presents him in the same attitude in which Pope Sylvester I is frequently depicted². That Pope is said to have shown to Constantine the portraits of SS. Peter and Paul in possession of the Roman Church, and from the twelfth century to the last, it was believed that the famous Vatican Ikon was the very picture exhibited to the Emperor. It is now acknowledged to be a votive picture perhaps painted by St. Methodius, the Apostle of the Slavs, in the ninth century³.

A more authentic portrait, however, of the saintly Urban may be seen in the picture gallery (*R. Accademia* n. 340) at Bologna. It was painted by the Bolognese Simone "dei Crocifissi", so-called because he at first only painted crucifixes. It was no doubt executed on the occasion of Urban's visit to Rome (1367-70) perhaps for the Pope's brother, Angelicus Grimoard, cardinal-bishop of Albano, who was named Legate of the Marches, Umbria etc, and fixed his residence at Bologna. Simone's picture gives a life-size representation of the Pope, who is depicted as seated and looking straight in front of him. In his left hand he carries the usual diptych with the busts of SS. Peter and Paul, and his right hand is raised in the act of blessing. Two angels hold behind his throne a piece of golden flowered tapestry, while two others support on his head the tiara upon which the Holy Ghost is descending in the form of a dove. Beneath his feet is the artist's name — "Simon. fecit", and below that, on a white scroll, that of the Pope "Beatus Urbanus Papa Quintus". Except for a little white

¹ In the Dal Pozzo collection, Nos. 8937, 9202, 9201 = Fig. 13. Goyau, *Le Vatican*, p. 462 gives a reproduction of another likeness of Urban made by Simone de Crocefissi, a painter at Bologna, in 1377.

² *E. g.* in the chapel of San Silvestro by the Church of the SS. Quattro Coronati. A. Munoz in his fine monograph on that Church has given two illustrations of the scene wherein Pope Sylvester shows the likenesses to Constantine: *Il restauro della chiesa de SS. Q. C. Rome*, 1914, p. 112, and Tav. XI.

³ See A. L. Frothingham, Jnr. 'Byzantine artists in Italy,' *Journal of American Archaeol.* 1894, pp. 37-8.

of a vestment which shows itself in the midst of the folds of the mantle, the picture is all red and gold. The word "Blessed" before the Pope's name would seem to show that it was actually painted after the Pope's death (1370) and perhaps from memory. The fact that all Simone's pictures are wanting in beauty, may be the reason why he has painted the Pope as anything but handsome, and somewhat cross-eyed. He was so used to delineating ghastly crucifixes that it would seem as if he had lost an eye for the comely¹.

Urban's devotion to SS. Peter and Paul is the reason why he is often pictured carrying a diptych showing their heads. When he was in Rome, he caused these heads, which had been found in the chapel of the Lateran palace, known as the *Sancta Sanctorum*, to be enclosed in new and magnificent reliquaries made like busts. He then caused them to be carried in solemn procession to the Lateran basilica and placed, where they now rest above its high altar, which he had rebuilt² (Apr. 15, 1370). The contemporary chronicler Garoscus de Ulmoisca, who tells us all this adds: "Without exaggeration, the reliquaries with their gold, silver, and precious stones, were worth one hundred and fifty thousand florins. The Pope said so himself, and I, who was present, saw and kissed them myself"³. It may be then that we shall find an even more authentic portrait in his marble effigy at Avignon. As he was buried in the abbey of St. Victor at Marseilles, and as a magnificent monument was there raised to him, it might have been supposed that we should there find a good portrait of him. But in course of time it has been damaged to a greater extent than the majority of the tombs of the Avignon Popes, so that E. Müntz could even declare that the engraving of it given by the Bollandists is 'well nigh all that is left of one of the most sumptuous monuments of the fourteenth century'⁴. Fortunately, a cenotaph was erected to him at Avignon in the Benedictine Church of St. Mar-

¹ Cf. R. Baldani, *La Pittura à Bologna*, p. 90 whence we have taken our description of the picture. Bologna, 1908. See the reproduction of the picture in G. Zucchi, *Bologna*, p. 65. On Simone, see Lord Lindsay, *Sketches of the hist. of Christ. art.*, II. p. 259. The picture is reproduced by Goyau, *Le Vatican*, p. 462.

² Cf. the valuable monograph of Card. L. Antonelli, *Memorie delle teste di Pietro e Paolo*, p. 18 ff. Rome. 1852.

³ Chron. an. 1370, p. 15 ed. Ehrle.

⁴ See his article in the *Gazette Archéologique* 1884, pp. 84-104, 'La statue du P. Urbain V. au musée d'Avignon.' He gives an engraving (Pl. 15) of the statue, and mentions a fresco of the Pope in a ruined church at Ninfa, another portrait on wood in the Museum at Bologna, etc.

tial, and its chief ornament, a beautiful figure of the Pope in alabaster, is still preserved in the Musée Calvet. The head of the statue is covered with the triple crown, while its face offers to our view large, well-shaped eyes, a big mouth, thin lips and a prominent chin. Even the unfortunate mutilation of the nose does not destroy the expression of happy sleep which the statue suggests, so that the eminent antiquarian we have just cited might well say that we are not in this case in front of a conventional or ideal statue, but that we have before us a true speaking likeness. Thus in possession of a good portrait of this art-loving and holy Pontiff, we need not be so much concerned that frescoes of him by Pietro Cavallini, and Tommaso, called Giotto, have perished¹. It must however be stated that Ciacconius, in whose time the monument at Marseilles, in the chapel of St. Peter near the high altar, was still intact says that its recumbent figure showed that Urban had a fat face with hanging cheeks².

Of the last of the Avignon Popes, Gregory XI., who brought the Babylonian captivity to an end, we do not appear to be possessed of a portrait of the same degree of authenticity as that supplied by the recumbent figure of Urban V. According to Vasari³, Taddeo Bartoli 'sent to Arezzo a picture which is in S. Agostino' containing a portrait of Pope Gregory 'the one who returned to Italy after the papal court had been so many decades in France.' But of this picture there is now no trace, and as there does not appear to be a portrait of him in Avignon, we naturally turn to Rome to look for one. In the Church of Sta. Francesca Romana in the Forum, there is a relief executed by Olivieri in the days of Gregory XIII., representing the Pope on horseback making his triumphal entry into Rome⁴. But, though interesting and well executed, it is not contemporary, and is seemingly of no value as far as providing an accurate portrait of the Pope is concerned. The mere fact that Gregory is depicted with a pointed beard is enough to show that there is here no question of an authentic likeness. The Romans to whom as to their own people, the Popes have seldom been prophets, showed no gratitude to the man who, by coming to Rome, raised it from the dead. They buried him in a plain coffin, on the lid of which was inscribed in Gothic letters:

¹ Vasari, i. 539, 626.

² *Vitae Rom. Pont.* I p. 936 ed. Rome 1630.

³ ii. 38.

⁴ For the inscription below the relief see Galletti, *Inscript. Rom.*, II p. XXVIII.

"Here lies the body of the Blessed Pope Gregory XI"¹. He shared the fate of Gregory XII. who also deserved well of the Church, but to whom is now allotted a miserable monument in a dark corner of the cathedral at Recanati. We must be content to look on his face as it is to be seen in the engraving of Cavalieri, taken we know not whence, for the contemporary portrait of him made by the Sienese artist, Taddeo Bartoli, has disappeared².

Urban VI.

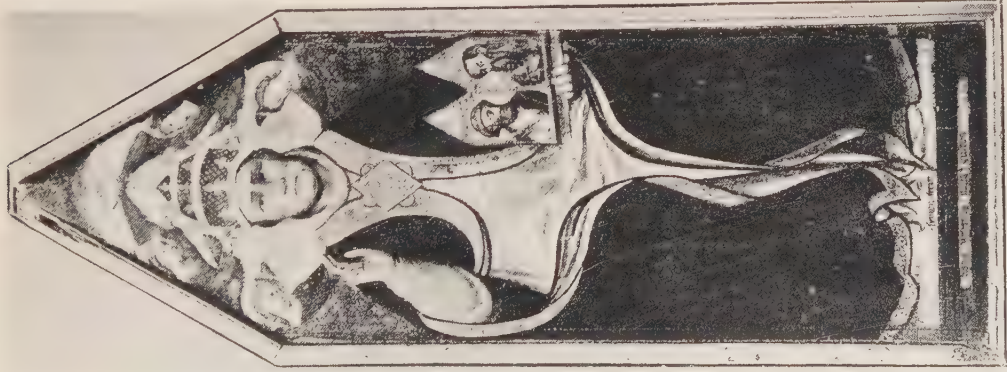
With the death of Gregory XI there followed the accession of Urban VI, and the disastrous period of the great Schism of the West, and incidentally the absolutely authentic series of papal portraits of which the publication was so well inaugurated by Panvinio. Though our task is now really done, we would call attention to two very different portraits of Gregory XII. The first is a pen and ink sketch of him by Taddeo di Bartolo, and was drawn when Gregory, in the first year of his pontificate, came to Siena, on the fourth of September 1407, as the inscription below the sketch states. This fine production shows him with full round face looking straight into the world before him, full of firm resolution to end the Church's misery³. The one by Panvinio shows him, we may suppose, some few years later. Those few years have broken him, principally because he had been false to himself and to his own high resolves. But he has now made amends. He has at length resigned the Papacy (1415); and Panvinio has revealed him to us, no longer in his majesty in cope and triple-crowned tiara, blessing the world, but as a man who has played his part, and whose strength has gone, whose bent and shrivelled frame has no longer the power to keep his head erect and gaze fearlessly on all before him. But God was merciful to the stricken man, and removed him from the world which he had, as he said, failed to understand, within two years of his act of resignation which brought peace to the lacerated Church.

From the data now before us, we may conclude that, while the mosaic portraits in the present St. Paul's from the pontificate of Martin V., nay, even from that of Urban VI., are genuine, almost every one of the others is more or less imaginary, and yet in every period

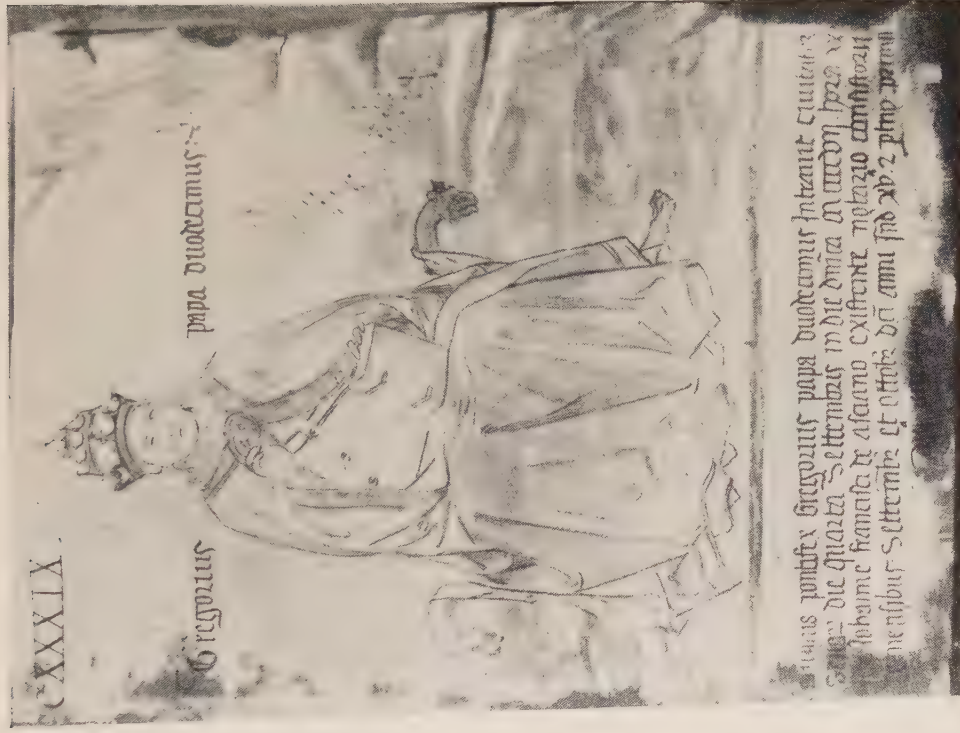
¹ *Lanciani, The golden days of the Renaissance in Rome.* p. 2 f.

² Ed. Milanese, II, 38.

³ Taddeo's sketch is reproduced in *R. Archivio di Stato in Siena; La Sala della Mostra*, Siena, 1911, p. 80, and in the Principessa Trivulzio's handy dictionary, *I Papi*, Florence, 1926, p. 346.



75. URBAN VI, BY SIMONE DE CROCIFISSE (IN THE PICTURE GALLERY, BOLOGNA).



76. GREGORY XII, FROM A PEN-AND-INK SKETCH BY TADDEO DE BARTOLO.



77. URBAN VI.



78. JOHN XXIII.

OF THE MIDDLE AGES

of the history of the Popes a certain number of authentic portraits are available. The most that can be said for the earlier portraits is that the nineteenth century artists who designed the mosaics were more or less inspired by the seventeenth and eighteenth century copies made of the portraits in old St. Paul's, especially by those of Marangoni. But, as Marangoni's copies were themselves far from accurate, we must suppose that the majority of the papal portraits on which one gazes in St. Paul's outside-the-walls of Rome do not tell us anything of the features of those whose names they bear.

A NOTE ON ONOFRIO PANVINIO.

Born in Verona in 1530 and dying at the early age of thirty-eight, this Augustinian hermit was perhaps the most widely read antiquarian who has ever lived. Not a few of his works have been printed; but a great many also are still in manuscript, especially in the libraries of the Vatican and of Munich. Here we are only concerned with the work he did in connection with papal portraiture. The Munich library has a manuscript of Onofrio (*Cod. Lat. mon.* 155-160) which contains portraits and biographies of all the Popes and antipopes and arms of the cardinals to Pius IV inclusive. It was sent to that artistic connoisseur, Johann Fugger, and may be said to be the first attempt at an Iconography of the Popes. Of the two hundred and seventy pictures of Popes which he gives, Panvinio does not pretend that more than about one hundred are either taken from life or are direct copies of authentic pictures, statues, or mosaics. With regard to the others, he only professes to have followed in the drawing of them any information that he found available, though in all cases he declares that, in the matter of costume, he religiously followed the styles of the period. The less authentic ones were drawn on a smaller scale than the others ¹.

In connection with the Munich MS, should be taken the Vatican manuscript, *Cod. Barb. Lat.* 2738, of the same author. It is a collection of portraits of Popes and Emperors etc, with the arms of Popes and Cardinals. From this MS. many facts bearing upon papal iconography may be gathered. Let us collect at least a few. By way of preface, we may note that the portraits are from copper-plates, that they are about an inch and a half high, and that they are much more curious than artistic.

Up to Pope Sylvester the Popes are shown vested like those in the corridors of the monastery of St. Paul's Outside-the-Walls ².

¹ Cf. Otto Hartig, cited in the text.

² See also the series of biographies and portraits of the first 29 Popes published by G. Picotti in Venice about 1800.

The first Pontiff to whom Panvinio gives the ecclesiastical pallium is Pope Sylvester I, the contemporary of Constantine the Great; and up to Pope Sabinian (604-6) the successor of St. Gregory I he shows it worn in the old style, i. e. looped round the neck, with the long part of the loop, and the greater part of the long strip of woven wool of which it was composed hanging down the left side.

Figure 101 on folio 13 is that of Eugenius II (824-7) and represents him wearing a plain fannon on his head. This is the only kind of head-gear which he gives to any of the Popes from Eugenius to Clement II (1046-7) though from figure 109 (f. 14) the fannon is shown striped as it is to-day. Clement II, the German Pope, whose advent ended the anarchical period of papal history, is shown with a tiara having a single crown, and he is the first upon whose pallium crosses are depicted. While over the arms of Boniface VIII, Panvinio has placed a tiara with two crowns, it is to Urban V (fig. 202, f. 45) that he first gives a tiara with three crowns. Finally, for the benefit of students of heraldry, we may state that he has coloured the arms of Leo IX, and that his hand-painted series of papal arms is more or less complete after that Pope.

INDEX.

- Agapitus, 109.
 Agnellus, 98.
 Aistulf, 11.
 Aldobrandini, Vana, 46.
 Alexander I, 4, 95.
 Alexander II, 29, 118.
 Alexander III, 30.
 Alexander IV, 36, 126 n.
 Alexander V, 1 n., 67 f., 126 n.
 Alexander VI, 75 ff., 81, 92.
 Alfarano, 89.
 Altieri, Prince, 87.
 Anacletus I, 1, 94 ff., 101.
 Anacletus II, 117.
 Anastasius I, 90.
 Anastasius II, 108.
 Anastasius IV, 25 n., 30 f.
 Ancona, March of, 67.
 Andrea, St., della Valle, 77, 83.
 Andrea, St., in Catabarbara, 99.
 Andrew, St., 77.
 Angelico, Fra., 125 f.
 Angelo, Michael, 14 ff., 82.
 Agnes, St. outside-the-walls, 86 n., 109 f.
 Anicetus, 89.
 Anterus, 8, 10 n.
 Aquila, 50.
 Agnileia, 97.
 Arnobius, the Younger, 100 n.
 Arnolfo di Cambio, 42, 45, 51 f.
 Aurelian, Walls of, 102.
 Bajazet, sultan, 80.
 Bamberg, 27.
 Barbo, Marco, card., 77f.
 Barbo, Pietro, card., 71, 77.
 Bartoli, Taddeo, 143.
 Battaglini, card., 70.
 Basilica, the Christian, 99.
 Bassus, Junius, 99.
 Benedict III, 23.
 Benedict IV, 19.
 Benedict V, 24 n.
 Benedict VI, 24.
 Benedict VIII, 113.
 Benedict IX, 1 n., 25 f., 114 f.
 Benedict XI, 1 n., 53 f., 124 f., 126 f., 130.
 Benedict XII, 57 f., 86, 88, 137 ff.
 Benedict XIII, 82.
 Benedict XIV, 49, 93 n., 101.
 Benedict XV, 82, 91.
 Bibiana, St., basilica of, 108.
 Bonaiuti, Andrea, of Florence, 125.
 Boniface I, 12, 94, 96.
 Boniface II, 21.
 Boniface IV, 22, 51, 52 n.
 Boniface VII, 41 n.
 Boniface VIII, 37, 49 n., 51 ff., 63, 124 f., 127, 130, 133 f., 147.
 Boniface IX, 63 f., 66.
 Bramante, 15 f., 30, 78 n.
 Bruni, Leonardo, 67.
 Bulgarians, the, 114.
 Caius, 8, 10 n., 96.
 Calandrini, card., 73.
 Callistus (Calixtus) I, St., 11, 94, 99, 104 f.; catacombs of, 7 ff., 105 n.
 Callistus II, 30, 117 f.
 Callistus III, 74 ff., 81.
 Canova, 82.
 Cavallini, Pietro, 115 n., 136, 143.
 Cecilia, Sta., 10 n., 91 n., 110 f.
 Celestine I, 98, 106 n.
 Celestine II, 30.
 Celestine III, 30, 31, 33, 122.
 Celestine IV, 35, 126 n., 131.
 Celestine V, 1 n., 48 ff., 124, 130.
 Cennini, Cennino, 133.
 Charlemagne, 23.

INDEX

Charles VI, king, 132.
 Cherson, city, 6 f.
 Ciampini, 89.
 Clement I, 4 f.
 Clement II, 26 f., 113, 147.
 Clement III, 30, 33.
 Clement IV, 1 n., 37 ff., 124, 126 f., 129.
 Clement V, 54 ff., 126 n., 134 f.
 Clement VI, 59 f., 87, 126 n., 138 ff.
 Clement VII, 92 n.
 Clement VIII, 3
 Clement X, 87.
 Clement XI, 82.
 Clement XII, 13, 82.
 Cluny, 31.
 Colonna, family, 88.
 Condulmari, Francesco, card., 71 f.
 Constance, Council of, 67, 70.
 Constantine, emperor, 3 f., 9; his cross,
 141.
 Conti, the, 26.
 Cornelius, 7 n., 8, 10, 89 f., 105.
 Cossa, Baldassare, 70.
 Cros, cardinal John of, 137.
 Cyril, St., 7.

Damasus, 9 f., 15, 96, 98.
 Depositi, the, collection of sepulchral il-
 lustrations, 64, 66, 75, 81.
 Desiderius, abbot (Victor III), 88.
 Dionysius, 95.
 Donatello, 70 f., 133 n.

Eleutherius, 95.
 Elias, 20.
 Eugenius II, 147.
 Eugenius III, 18, 31, 72, 80, 122.
 Eugenius IV, 15 f., 71 f., 75, 93.
 Eusebius, 10, 90, 95 f.
 Eutylian, 8, 10 n.
 Euty chius, St., 98.

Fabian, 8, 10 n., 11.
 Fabriano, Gentile di, 93.

Felix II, 96.
 Felix III, 21.
 Felix IV, 109, 111.
 Ferentino, 50.
 Ferrari, Girolamo, 78.
 Fichard, J., 73 n., 77.
 Fontana, Domenico, 47, 49.
 Formosus, 89, 95 n., 114.
 Fouquet, Jean, 93.
 Francesca, Sta., Romana, church of, 143.
 Frederick III, emp., 79.
 Fugger, Johann, 146.

Garampi, Giuseppe, 137 f.
 Gelasius II, 31, 118, 121.
 Ghiberti, Lorenzo, 136.
 Giotto, 19, 125, 131, 133, 135.
 Giuliana, card., 79.
 Glasses, gilded, 104 f.
 Gregory I, the Great, 21, 22 n., 110 n.
 Gregory III, 18.
 Gregory, IV, 21, 109 n., 110 ff.
 Gregory V, 1 n., 24.
 Gregory VI, 26.
 Gregory VII, 1 n., 27, 29, 118.
 Gregory VIII, 33.
 Gregory IX, 35, 123 f., 126 n., f., 129.
 Gregory X, 1 n., 13, 39 ff., 127, 129.
 Gregory XI, 61 f., 126 n., 143 f.
 Gregory XII, 1 n., 66 f., 144.
 Gregory XIII, 19 f., 78, 133.
 Gregory XVI, 88.
 Grimaldi, 17 f., 52, 89 ff.
 Gualdo, 46 n.
 Guazzalotti, 93.

Hadrian I, 16 n., 22 f., 30, 98, 109 f., 112.
 Hadrian II, 7.
 Hadrian IV (Breakspear), 15 f., 31 f.
 Hadrian V, 1 n., 13, 41 ff., 127 f.
 Hadrian, emperor, 30.
 Hamburg, 24 n.
 Helen, empress, 3, 25 n., 31.
 Henry III, emperor, 26.
 Honorius II, 30.

INDEX

Honorius III, 17, 35, 45, 123 f.
Honorius IV., 45 ff., 127.

Innocent I, 95, 100 f.
Innocent II, 30, 121 f.
Innocent III, 1 n., 32 ff, 37, 123, 129.
Innocent IV, 1 n., 35, 64, 124, 126 n. f.,
129.
Innocent V, 41, 124, 126, 130.
Innocent VI, 60, 140 f.
Innocent VII, 65.
Innocent VIII, 31, 80 f., 84 n.
Innocent X, 91.
Ipogeo del Viale Manzoni, 102 f.
Isabella of Bavaria, 132.
Isaia da Pisa, 71 f., 78 f.
Itinerary of William of Malmesbury, 12 n.

Job, story of, 103.
John III, 105.
John IV, 110, 112.
John VII, 88, 110, 112.
John VIII, 23, 113.
John IX, 23.
John XI, 13 n.
John XII, 115.
John XIII, 24, 115.
John XIV, 86.
John XV, 113.
John XIX, 25.
John XXI, 1 n., 43 f., 127 f.
John XXIII 1 n., 13, 70 f., 132 n.
John the Deacon, 24.
John of Ephesus, 98.
John the Scholastic, 98.
Julius I, 96, 98.
Julius II, 14 ff., 18 n., 73, 79, 82, 84, 90,
92, 132.

Ladislaus, King of Naples, 19.
Lance, the holy, 80.
Lateran, St. John, basilica of, 13, 24 f.,
88, 90 f, 113.

Laurentius, antipope, 96 f.
Lawrence, St., 123.
Lavenier, John, 58.
Leo I, 12, 20, 97 f, 107, 132.
Leo II, 20.
Leo III, 20, 110.
Leo IV, 20, 109 f, 132.
Leo V, 12 f.
Leo IX, 27, 147.
Leo X, 15, 132.
Leo XII, 92.
Leo XIII, 1 n., 13, 34, 69 f.
Liberius, 89, 96, 104 f.
Linus, 4 f., 94.
Lombards, the, 11.
Longinus, 80.
Lorenzetti, Ambrogio, 125.
Lorenzo, St., basilica of, 83, 110.
Lothaire II, emperor, 121.
Lucina, St., crypt of, 7 n., 9.
Lucius I, 8, 90.
Lucius II, 30.
Lucius III, 32.

Maggiore, porta, ipogeo of, 102 ff.
Marcellinus, 104.
Margaritone, 40.
Maria, Sta., degli Angeli, 83.
Maria, Sta., Antiqua, 110, 112.
Maria, Sta., de Febribus, 74, 81, 90 n.
Maria, Sta., in Gradi, 37 ff.
Maria, Sta., in Gradibus, 113.
Maria, Sta., Maggiore, 83.
Maria, Sta., sopra Minerva, 82 f.
Maria, Sta., in Trastevere, 121 f.
Marino, 88.
Mark, pope, 98.
Martin IV, 1 n., 33, 36 f., 44 f., 131.
Martin V., 13, 70 f., 79, 84, 92, 133, 145.
Martini, Simone, 124 f., 139 f.
Martino, St., ai Monti, 101 n.
Masuccio, I & II (painters), 35.
Matteo of Viterbo, 139 f.
Medals, papal, 92.

- Medici, Cosimo, dei, 70.
Memoria, a, 15.
 Merocles, 96.
 Michelozzi, 70 f.
 Miltiades or Melchiades, 7, 9, 10 n., 96, 100.
 Mino da Fiesole, 78 f.
 Moses, statue of, 14.
- Navicella of Giotto, 19.
 Nicholas I, 23.
 Nicholas II, 28, 119.
 Nicholas III, 17, 44 f., 63, 88 ff., 92 n., 94, 96, 119 f., 124, 128.
 Nicholas IV, 47 ff., 123, 126 n., 130.
 Nicholas V, 13 f., 15 f., 65, 73 f., 76, 86 n., 93.
- Oriolo, 87.
 Osmund, St., of Salisbury, 76.
 Otto III., 25.
- Paladino, G., 93.
 Pallium, the, 108.
 Palmaria or Palmarola, island, 21.
 Panvinio, Onofrio, 132, 146 f.
 Paolino di Antonio di Binaseo, 75.
 Parentucelli, the, 74 n.
 Paris de Grassis, 15.
 Paschal I, 11, 23, 91 n., 110 ff.
 Paschal II, 20, 30, 118 f.
 Paul, St., 102 ff.; monastery of, 100 f.; basilica of, 21 f., 87 f., 90 f., 94 ff., 145.
 Paul I, 11, 22, 110, 112 f.
 Paul II, 15 f., 77, 79.
 Paul III, 15, 45, 90, 92.
 Paul V, 17, 65, 78, 86 n., 89.
 Paul, *magister* of Siena, 138.
 Pelagius II, 110.
 Perugia, 33 f.
 Peter, St., 14, 16, 20, 24, 87, 91 ff., 94 f., 100 ff., 103 ff.; his basilica on the Vatican hill, 4, 12, 88 ff., 97; his *cathedra*, 23; destruction of old basilica of, 13 ff., 18.
 Peter of Courtenay, emperor, 123.
 Petrarch, 132, 140.
 Petronilla, St., chapel of, 23.
 Philocalus, Dionysius Furius, 10.
 Piccolomini, card., 77.
 Pier, St., in Grado, 86 f.
 Pieri, Antonio, 64.
 Pietro d'Argeleta, 68.
 Pietro, Niccolo di, 67.
 Pietro di Oderisio, 37.
 Pisanello, Antonio, 93.
 Pisa, council of, 67.
 Pisani, Giovanni, 36, 53.
 Pius I, 90.
 Pius II (Piccolomini), 19, 21 f., 45, 74, 77, 81 f., 92 n.
 Pius III, 77, 81 f.
 Pius V, 93.
 Pius VI, 82, 86 n.
 Pius VII, 86, n., 94 n.
 Pollaiuolo, Antonio, 79 f.
 Pontia, island, 6, 21.
 Pontianus, 8, 10 n.
 Porcellio, Pietro, 72.
 Porta, Giacomo della, 18, 82.
 Portraits, series of papal, 86, 88, 98; in churches, 97 ff., imperial, 99.
 Pozzi, G. B., 93 n.
 Prassede, Sta., church of, 23.
 Praetextatus, catacomb of, 105.
 Pudenziana, Sta., church of, 91 n.
- Rimondi, Marc Antonio, 92.
 Ravenna, 28.
 Recanati, 66.
 Rome, 18 n., 19.
- Sabinian, 22, 147.
 Sadeler, Egidio, engraver, 67.
 Salvatore, San, in Lauro, 72.
 Saracens, the, 3.
 Sebastiano, San, church of, 2.

INDEX

- Sergius I, 12, 20, 22.
 Sergius III, 113.
 Sergius IV, 24 f.
 Siena, busts of Popes at, 85.
 Silverius, 21.
 Simone dei Crocifissi, 141.
 Simone da Fiesole 71 n.
 Simplicius, 108.
 Sixtus I, 95.
 Sixtus II, 7, 9 f., 104 ff.
 Sixtus III, 8, 10 n.
 Sixtus IV, 79 f., 92.
 Sixtus V, 47 ff., 75, 86 n.
 Sperandio da Mantova, 68 ff.
 Statues in Rome, 103.
 Stephen (VI) VIII, 118.
 Stephen X, 28.
 Sudarium, the, 80.
 Sylvester I, 12, 15, 88, 90, 101, 141, 146 f.
 Sylvester II, 24 f., 98.
 Symmachus, 96, 107.

 Tafur, Pier, 14.
 Telesphorus, 95.
 Theodora, 21.
 Theodore, 110.
 Theodoric, tomb of, 28; King, 108.
 Tornacelli, Giovanni, 64.
 Tombs, papal, number & position of, 1, 4.

 Torrigio, 3, 4.
 Torriti, J., 51 f., 116 n., 123 n.

 Urban I, 7 f., 10 n., 100, 106.
 Urban II, 15, 30, 118.
 Urban III, 1 n., 33.
 Urban IV, 1 n., 19 n., 33, 36 f.
 Urban V, 60 f., 126 n., 141 ff., 147.
 Urban VI., 17 f., 62 f., 126 n., 133, 145.

 Vasari, 125 n.
 Vasari, 125 n.
 Velasquez, 92.
 Victor I, 4, 95.
 Victor II, 27.
 Victor III (Desiderius), 1 n., 29 f., 117 f.
 121.
 Vigilus, 14, 21, 31.
 Vitalian, 94, 96.

 Westminster Abbey, 37.
 Wheat, garlands of, 46 f.

 Zachary 110, 112.
 Zephyrinus, 7, 9, 10 n.
 Zosimus, 12, 108.